[President Reagan, according to accounts published in several Sun-

day newspapers based on inter-

views, said that a summit meeting

with Soviet leader Leonid L Bre-

zhnev is likely in 1982. He also said that he believes the Polish people should have had the chance

to vote in the referendum pro-

posed by the Solidarity trade un-

[Separately, the White House confirmed that Mr. Reagan has

received a reply to his letter to Mr. Brezhnev on Poland last week, The

Associated Press reported. In the

letter, Mr. Reagan warned the So-viet Union that the United States

"will have no choice" but to im-

pose political and economic sanc-

tions against Moscow if repression

the Brezhnev letter was being stud-

ied closely and he would not com-

to permit the restoration of basic

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PARIS, MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1981

Established 1887

Peking Resumes Criticism of U.S. As a Superpower

By Christopher S. Wren New York Times Service

PEKING - After singling out Moscow for months as the princi-pal threat to world stability, China has resumed its criticism of the United States as a superpower vy-ing with the Soviet Union for hemony over the Third World.

gemony over the Third World.

The change of tone, which has characterized several articles in the official press over the last few weeks, was particularly evident in a lengthy new appraisal of U.S. foreign policy circulated Saturday might by the Chinese news agency in its year-end roundup of interna-sional problems as viewed from

The United States and the Soviet Union belong to the same category. In the eyes of the other countries, they are the super-powers, and each is the other's number one adversary. They alone can pose a formidable threat to each other and imperil each other's strategic interests and security," said the commentary, which was attributed to the agency's Washington correspondent, Peng Di.

Such a portrayal was familiar under Mao in the last two decades. But with the establishment of diplomatic relations between Washington and Peking and the development of commercial ties, the new leadership of Deng Xiaoping muted the references to the United States as a superpower and focused its charge of hegemony on

the Soviet Union.
Some Peking-based Western and Third World diplomats who noticed the revival of the ideological formula have suggested at least two reasons for it.

The first is that China, having emerged from the isolation of the Mao years, is trying to ethance its mage as an active champion of the developing world. This was shown in its participation at the Northsouth economic dialogue in Meni-co in October and in its blocking of the re-election of Kurt Wal-

theirn in favor of a new UN secre-tary-general from the Third World. The second reason is that Mr. Deng's regime is clearly unhappy with the Reagan administration's tentative plans to sell new jet fighters to Taiwan and may be distancing itself in anticipation of possi-ble domestic criticism.

most of it has gotten through," a senior Chinese diplomat said re-cently. If the Reagan administra-tion goes ahead and sells the planes to Taiwan, he said, "it doesn't leave us much room to maneuver. We won't have much choice except to retaliate strong-

The Chinese government has avoided spelling out what steps it would take. The expectation in Pe-

Claima's party Central Committee has declared that mixing ideology and industry is correct. Page 5.

king diplomatic quarters is that Mr. Deng would have to downgrade relations to some extent to placate hard-liners in the govern-ment and party who would ques-tion the advantage of his accom-modation with Washington.

When Premier Zhao Ziyang visited North Korea last week, he accused the United States by name of helping cause instability in northeast Asia and reiterated Chinese support for Pyongyang's de-mand that U.S. troops withdraw from South Korea.

The commentary by the news agency said that the most crucial aspect of U.S. foreign policy involved the Third World, particularly the Middle East and South Asia, which it said were the targets

of Soviet expansionism.

The news agency said Washington often "fails to treat the Third World countries as equals" and in-stead shores up its "old friends, so long as they are pro-American and anti-Communist

The commentary charged that the United States was not reluctant "to interfere in the affairs of other countries, even at the expense of its own long-term strategic interest. Its approach to Chi-na's Taiwan is a case in point." China has periodically accused the United States of giving the So-

viet Union an advantage in the Middle East by blindly supporting Israel. The latest official analysis of the Reagan administration's foreign policy also questioned its concern over Nicaragua and El Salva-

"It is one thing to counter Soviet and Cuban expansionism; it is an-other to oppose the people of those countries rising in revolution," the "We have put our message countries rising in through to American officials and news agency said.



Armored vehicles line a street in Gdansk, which was reported calm after several strikes were ended.

Haig Says Risk of Soviet Intervention May Have Increased

pained tolerance, to resort to force

against the Solidarity union move-

Poland and the Soviet Union are

reported by U.S. intelligence to be

extremely active, there has been no

report of major troop movements

in Russia that would presage direct Soviet intervention. Mr. Haig's concern, as he expressed it, seemed

to be based primarily on the con-

timing danger of bloodshed and civil strife that could not be con-

According to Mr. Haig, Gen.

Wojciech Jaruzelski imposed mar-

Walesa Is Time Man of Year

The Associated Press

Time magazine's 1981 Man of the

Year on Sunday. The designation

goes to the person who Time's edi-

tors believe had the most impact

namese occupation drags into its fourth year, the Cambodian issue

shows signs of becoming even

A concerted ASEAN effort to

spruce up the image of the Khmer Rouge government appears to be running into trouble. Government changes in Phnom Penh, while still mysterious, seem to indicate a tightening of hardline Vietnamese control over the Cambodian administration.

Cambodian administration.

Moreover, there are signs of preparations for intensified new fighting during the current dry

YORK — Solidarity's

tained by Polish authorities.

While communications between

Mr. Haig also said "the cal-culus" in future choices in Warsaw and Moscow has been affected by the decision, after months of conclusively which he believes to

et pressure or as a decision made

Mr. Haig said Gen. Jaruzelski's address to the Polish people Thurs-

day night was the first response to

President Reagan's televised re-marks on Poland Wednesday night

and his personal letter to Gen. Jaruzelski of the day before. Mr. Haig suggested that the postpone-

ment of Gen. Jaruzelski's speech

from Wednesday, its previously ex-pected time, until Thursday was in

order for him to hear first what Mr. Reagan had to say. Mr. Haig said Gen. Jaruzelski's

speech was extremely moderate in

tone but added that it failed to

contain assurances that martial law is being revised. Mr. Haig noted that the initial actions of the

Polish leadership, which he de-scribed as a military junta that has

supplanted the government and

Mr. Haig said that the internal dynamics in Poland, including re-

Meat Ration Cut For Some Poles; Miners Hold Out

VIENNA - Warsaw Radio announced Sunday that the meat ration for Poles other than manual workers would be cut next month, and it reported that more than 1,100 coal miners were still holding! out in an underground protest

strike in Silesia.

The radio, which called on state and private farmers to step up food deliveries, said that only large imports of meat from the Soviet Union and other Eastern bloc countries had allowed the ration for miners and other manual workers to be maintained at its December level. It cited a serious shortage of supplies as the reason for the reduced rations.

In Rome, Archbishop Luigi Poggi, Pope John Paul's special envoy to Poland, said on his return from Warsaw that Lech Walesa, leader of the now-suspended Solidarity trade union, had not been not interned but was in what he called

generals and the influential Roman Catholic Church, suggest that a move toward reconciliation

is still a possibility.
In assessing Gen. Jaruzelski's

role, Mr. Haig discussed two broad schools of thought: that the Polish

leader is a patriotic nationalist

seeking to preempt Soviet inter-vention, or that he is a Soviet

proxy seeking to turn back the clock in Poland to the days before

the rise of Solidarity as an inde-

pendent union in August of last

is a misreading," he said. "The truth is somewhere between the

two, but probably closer to the lat-

Mr. Haig cautioned against ac

cepting either judgment in full, ap-parently because of the conse-quences of either conclusion. If

If, on the other hand, Gen. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

"I think either of these extremes

Archbishop Poggi, who met with Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who is premier, party leader and head of the military council, said he had not met with Mr. Walesa but was told that the union leader was allowed to attend Sunday mass.

Warsaw Radio said that more than 1,000 Silesian miners were continuing to occupy the Piast colliery in protest against the military takeover Dec. 13. A physician who went into the mine was said to have reported that most of the miners were in need of medical at-

Solidarity Documents

Documents reportedly circulated by members of the Solidarity union indicated that major sit-ins had been ended in Gdansk at the oil refinery, the shipyard and the port. They said some mines in Silesia had been taken over by security forces and, at one mine, strikers had been gassed and forced to the surface.

When they revived, they were forced back to work at gunpoint and those who refused were arrested, the documents said.

Independent reports reaching the West said hard-liners seemed to be reasserting control over the party at all levels and that purges were going on from top to bottom on the same scale as occurred in Czechoslovakia after the 1968 Warsaw Pact intervention there.

"There are only careerists and Stalinists left," the reports quoted a party source as saying. Disarray, shock and anger were said to have spread through party ranks after the proclamation of martial law, and many members were said to have turned in their party cards.

Other reports reaching the West said Solidarity was secretly circulating documents saying that several people had died in Gdansk and Wroclaw during fighting with security forces. The military government has insisted that the only violent deaths since the army takeover occurred in Silesia on Dec. 16, when seven people were shot

Lovaity Oaths

The appearance of the Solidarity documents suggested that the trade union had maintained some sort of organization despite the ar-

rest of most of its leaders.

The union appears to be collecting information about encounters with security forces, and other union documents said purges were under way in newspaper offices. The documents said journalists were being interviewed by military officials and were being asked to sign pledges of loyalty to the mili-

tary authorities.

The publications said that a purge had been completed at Kurier Polski, the newspaper of the Communist-affiliated Democratic Party, and that only 20 percent of the journalists had agreed to the loyalty pledge. The others were re-ported to have been dismissed. Word reached the West through

independent sources of some trouble in the ranks of the army. The sources said a family had been of-ficially told their son had been shot for "dereliction of duty" and were informed where his body

could be picked up.

In Washington, three prominent
Poles said that the lives of two leading intellectuals arrested in Po-land were in danger. They said in a statement that they had learned that Jacek Kirron and Adam Michnik had been beaten and tortured.

Mr. Kuron, 47, was an adviser to Solidarity and Mr. Michnik, 35, is a historian. The statement appealed to governments and international organizations to intervene to save them.

Another report quoted the fa-ther of Mr. Kuron as saying he believed his son was in a detention center in Gdansk. Mr. Kuron's son and wife were also detained, Mr. Kuron's father said. The two men are fine, I'm sure," he said, according to the report.

Government Payrolls Begin to Shrink in U.S.

the Communist Party, were West might be expected to support

couched in moderate language but it. U.S. policy at present runs were "steely" in character. strongly in the other direction.

By William Serrin -

New York Times Service NEW YORK --- For the first time since the end of World War II, government employment in the United States is declining a development that many experts on the workplace say will have a major

impact on workers and the public.
In the 12-month period ending
Nov. 1, government employment
declined by 316,000 workers, inchiding 40,000 at the federal level, 30.000 at the state level and 246,000 at the local level.

A Western diplomat who mon-Since 1919, which is as far back itors Cambodia closely said the as Bureau of Labor Statistics figures on unemployment go, govern-ment employment has declined Vietnamese seemed to be moving toward smaller-scale operations aimed at regaining the initiative in some areas against the 30,000 to 40,000 Khmer Rouge guerrilonly three other times. It happened once in the recession of 1920-21, again in 1932-33, during the Great Depression, and a third time in the period 1944-47, as World War II was ending and the nation was re-After reaching a low point following Vietnam's invasion dur-ing the 1978-79 dry season, Khmer Rouge military capabili-

turning to a peacetime economy. The current decline, analysts said, reflects the recession and the widespread effort to reduce the size of government.

A Changing Market

The decline also is occurring as the Reagan administration transfers responsibility for many services to the state and local governments and when services and physical facilities, such as roads and sewers, are deteriorating seriously

Samuel M. Ehrenhalt, the bu-reau's New York regional commis-sioner, said that for decades gov-ernment employment had been widely regarded by economists and by job seekers as a growing seg-ment of the job market. Govern-ment was thought of as an area in which highly secure jobs could be found. Now all that is at an end, Mr. Ehrenhalt said, and he is convinced that government employ-ment will continue to decline in the next two decades.

Analysts said federal employ-ment would decline by tens of thousands of jobs in 1982 because of administration cutbacks.

Jerome Rosow, president of the Work in America Institute, a private research organization in Scarsdale, N.Y., said a brain drain in Washington of serious proportions was occurring as bright and promising workers were forced from government employ-ment or voluntarily left because of uncertainties that existed there.

"We're losing the best and the newest and brightest." He said that "seniority becomes the domi-nant theme" as cutbacks occur. While agreeing that government employment has leveled off, some experts were not as convinced as Mr. Ehrenhalt that the decline was

Program on Neighborhood and Regional Change at the Massachu-setts Institute of Technology, said,

"It's dangerous to say this is forever," said Sar A. Levitan, a labor
specialist in Washington. If President Reagan's economic plan
works, he said, it will help restore
the economy, thus providing increased tax revenues at the state and local levels and enabling goverrments to provide increased services and employment.

Enormous Skepticism' Cited Or, Mr. Levitan said, state and

local governments may be forced to increase taxes and thus increase employment as they seek to take on duties passed to them by the U.S. government. Mr. Birch said that "an enor-

mous skepticism toward govern-ment" throughout the country was resulting in a reduction in govern-ment at all three levels, but he also said the decline might not be per-

In states such as Massachusetts, he said, there is "pressure now to introduce all sorts of loopholes" to allow the state and local governments to continue employment and circumvent tax limitations

Government employment, which reached more than 16 million in October, 1980, has expanded substantially during the last 60 years. In 1920, it stood at 2.6 million. It hit 4.2 million in 1940, 6 million in 1950 and 8.6 million in 1960. By 1970, it had jumped to 12.6 million.

Federal employment has held comparatively steady, rising from 1.9 million in 1950 to 2.3 million in 1960, 2.7 million in 1970 and 2.8 million in 1980.

It is at the state and local levels that direct government employment has increased most heavily. State employment rose 140 percent to 3.6 million in 1980 from 1.5 million in 1960. Local government employment rose 117 percent to 9.8 million in 1980 from 4.5 mil-

INSIDE

Afghan Deadlock

On the second anniversary of the Soviet intervention in Af-ghanistan, the U.S. State Department says that both gov-ernment forces and insurgents are deadlocked. Page 5.

Change in Golan The transformation of the

Golan Heights from an occupied territory to an effective part of the state of Israel is be ginning to take shape. Page 2.

Inflation Impact

Changes in world trade patterns may soften the global impact of the U.S. recession, some analysts say. Page 7.

rights in Poland."] Cambodia: A Diplomatic Dilemma for Asia and U.S.

achieve that outcome are stronger

By Don Oberdorfer

and John M. Goshko

WASHINGTON - Secretary of

State Alexander M. Haig Jr. says that martial law in Poland has not succeeded and that the danger of

Soviet intervention may be greater than it was before the military

Mr. Haig, in an interview Satur-

aggravated by the consequences

day, said, "Passive resistance in my view will continue, and it will

of economic stagnation and social-

He said it is "much too early" to conclude that the danger of direct Soviet intervention has receded, adding: "I think it may even be more possible than before these

"Martial law has not succeeded,

and it would be premature to sug- ment on its contents. It was

gest that it had," Mr. Haig said.
"Once the decision was made to institute repression, the prospects of applying what is necessary to Mr. Reagan said he had sent Mr. Brezhnev a letter "arging him

crackdown two weeks ago.

economic privation."

events occurred."

By William Branigin

Washington Past Service
BANGKOK — Three years
ago, two columns of Vietnamese troops spearheaded by tanks drove into neighboring Cambodia at the head of a massive inva-sion force. Less than two weeks later, the vanguard of the Viet-namese blitzkrieg rolled into the capital of Phnom Penh and installed a new government.

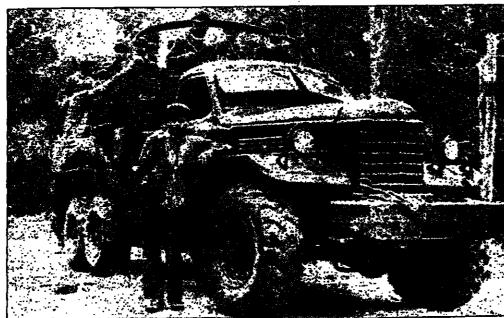
The consequences of the Christmas Day invasion continue to preoccupy Southeast Asia today, shaping relations among the states of the region and between each of them and the rest of the world. But the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia has wider implications as well, for it embodies the larger conflict between China and the Soviet Union.

AND HAST

At the same time, it illustrates the reduction of the U.S. role in the region since the Vietnam war

As far as Cambodia is con-cerned, the U.S. role has been reduced to following the lead of the region's grouping of non-Com-munist states, the Association of South East Asian Nations, which includes Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thai-

For ASEAN and Western



A Khmer Rouge soldier poses beside a Chinese-made truck in western Cambodia.

posed Communist Khmer Rouge government is blamed for the deaths of a million to two million

diplomatic and political support is necessary because the Khmer Rouge fields the most effective

resistance to the Vietnamese oc-

countries, the problem has been complicated by the dilemma of supporting a regime that most of them find abhorrent; the dehandpicked government in Phnom Penh.

ties began to recover toward the end of 1979, growing stronger last year. And with the Vietnamese forces suffering logistics

and morale problems, diplomats said, the Khmer Rouge this year were able to take the initiative. In effect, the Cambodian war Now, however, as the Viet-(Continued on Page 4, Col. 5)

Abductors Release Photo of General

From Agency Dispatches
MILAN — The Red Brigades on Sunday night released a snapshot of kidnapped U.S. Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier and announced the start of his "people's trial," but the urban guerrillas issued no conditions for his release, police reported.

ported The abductors broke eight days of silence with a telephone call to on Italian news agency saying they had left the photograph, a commu-nique and a long document called a "strategic resolution" in a trash basket in central Milan.

The photograph showed the general's face a dark spot under his left eye, beneath the group's five-pointed star symbol. Gen. Dozier, 50. appeared to be holding a sign, but the news agency ANSA, which picked up the photo, said the sign was apparently a highly professional montage. Part of the sign read, in Italian, The crime of capitalism breeds innertalist war.

Only anti-imperialist civil war can bury war."
Police said the snapshot of Gen. Dozier appeared to be genuine.

'People's Trial' Claimed

The communiqué was the second issued by the Red Brigades since Gen. Dozier was abducted since Gren. Dozzer was acounted from his apartment in Verona on Dec. 17. After announcing the start of the general's "people's trial," the communiqué said: "This pig, this killer is a 'hero' of American massacres in Vietnam, where for his 'menits' he earned various decembriers."

Gen. Dozier, deputy chief of staff for logistics and administra-tion at NATO's Southern Europe land forces base in Verona, fought

in the Vietnam War.

"Comrades, proletarians, the proletarian trial of the pig Dozier has begun," the three-page communique said, according to police

The Red Brigades, who were responsible for the 1978 abduction and murder of former Premier Aldo Moro in 1978, have said they were holding the general, the high-est-ranking U.S. officer at the Verona base, in a "people's pris-The police said the latest com-

munique contained no demands or conditions for his release. The document on the urban guerillas' strategic aims bore a cover drawing of tanks, soldiers and a mushroom cloud on a map of Italy and Europe. Also on the cover were a band of urban guerillas greenwally designed in an arrival greenwally designed in a greenwally designed in a green gre

rillas, presumably depicted in op-position to the military display. The communique attacked "American imperialism," and hailed the "birth of a movement against imperialist war and against the installation of missiles" in En-

The document did not mention Gen. Dozier.



The photograph of Brig. Gen. James L. Dozier released Sunday in Milan. Behind him is the symbol of the Red Brigades.

By William Claiborne

Washington Past Service JERUSALEM — The practical and legal transformation of the Golan Heights from an occupied territory to an effective part of the state of Israel is beginning to take shape, although hesitantly and not without confusion.

The Interior Ministry, which under the anneration law passed by parliament Dec. 14 is responsible for implementing the change, was as surprised as any-body else by Prime Minister Menachem Begin's decision to push the law through parliament.

But amid the cacophony of international condemnation of the annexation and the repercussions of U.S. sanctions, Israeli officials are beginning to carry out the transition of the Golan Heights from military to civilian rule just as if it were a part of Israel proper.

The Interior Ministry has appointed its northern district representative, Israel Koenig, to head an interministerial committee to phase out the military government that has administered the Golan Heights since the Israeli Army captured it from Syria in 1967 and to replace it with the same form of government that exists across the pre-1967 border.

Mr. Koenig has been put in charge of establishing regional governing councils in the Golan Heights. He will supervise tax rates and local budgets and direct such services as education, health, welfare, sanitation, water, road maintenance, parks and fire protection,

CAIRO - The trial of an Egyp-

tian millionaire and former mem-

ber of parliament is seen by many

here as an opening shot in an anti-

corruption campaign by the government of President Hosni Mu-

Rashad Osman, a millionaire

who was once a porter on the Alexandria docks, is charged with

drug smuggling, tax evasion, mis-use of state lands and corrupt busi-

ness practices. Mr. Osman, who

was a member of the governing

National Democratic Party in the People's Assembly, had his parlia-

mentary immunity lifted in Sep-

tember and was arraigned before

President Anwar Sadat was assas-

court case under Sadat has devel-

oped into a major public debate

under Mr. Mubarak, with several

high officials and the brother of

the late president reportedly linked to the affair.

ing party's weekly newspaper,

Mayo, whose editor in chief is Ibrahim Saada. Mr. Saada, who

the trial proceedings in Mayo.

Saada called for two officials who

are implicated in the case to step

down until they are cleared in an

the trial has come from the govern- integrity."

But what began as a low-key

sinated on Oct. 6.

Anti-Corruption Drive

officials said. Similar councils control such services throughout Israel.

On the legal side, Justice Minister Moshe Nissim has signed orders establishing two Israeli magistrate courts in the Golan, one in the Arab village of Masada and another in the Jewish development town of Katzrin. Mr. Nissim also signed regulations extending the jurisdiction of the Nazareth district courts to the Golan Heights so that it could hear appeals from the magistrates' courts and handle cases involving more scrious violations of Israeli law.

Army patrols have been replaced by Israeli police and members of the border police; Israeli traffic regu-lations are being enforced and Israeli driver's licenses issued, and Israeli housing codes are going into effect.

The annexation bill in its legal terminology applies.

Israeli "law, jurisdiction and administration" to the Golan Heights, which for the last 14 years has been

governed by an Israeli military government under a blend of military law, emergency defense regulations from the time of the British Mandate, and some provisions of basic Israeli law that were applied to the occupied territory by order of the military governor in

Unlike the occupied West Bank, where Jordanian law was carried over after Israel captured the territory from Jordan in 1967, the Golan Heights did not retain Syrian law because most of its residents fled the area after the Syrian Army's retreat. There currently are about 12,500 Druzes, members of a breakaway

"There was a legal vacuum after the 1967 war --- no judges, no advocates, no Syrian law books and nothing that could be used as law to enable us to maintain order and a smooth functioning of society," said Elyakin Rubenstein, legal adviser to the Foreign Ministry. "It was not practical to apply Syrian law in the Golan. Who would apply it, the military governor?"

Mr. Koenig will also head an Interior Ministry committee that will deal with population registration in the Golan and the distribution of Israeli identity cards to all residents, including Arabs.

The Israeli government has not spelled out its position on whether the Arabs can retain their Syrian citizenship, although officials emphasized that they were not being forced to accept Israeli citizenship by accepting the identity cards.

Mr. Rubenstein said he assumed that Golan Arabs could retain their "Syrian nationality" the same way many of the approximately 100,000 Arabs of East Jerusalem, which was annexed in 1967, have retained their Jordanian citizenship even though they have been issued identity cards by the Israeli government. He said, however, that the question had not been fully

Uncertainty also remains over the question of formal annexation. Mr. Begin and other officials have repeatedly said the Golan Heights were part of Fretz Israel (the Land of Israel), but they have carefully

Islamic sect with secret tenets; about 800 Alawite avoided saying it had been annexed or was part of the state of Israel

No Comment on Security Pact

WASHINGTON (NYT) - The State Department has declined to comment on an interview in which Defense Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel said the security accord with the United States still formally ex-

Privately, however, officials said Saturday that the U.S. position was that the cooperation agreement had not been canceled. The officials said that U.S. participation in talks to carry it out had been suspended because of Israel's refusal to consult with the United States before annexing the Golan Heights.

Prime Minister Begin said on Dec. 20 that he re-

arded the U.S. action as tantamount to cancellation. The Reagan administration said it stood by its view that it still wanted the agreement but that it was up to israel to repair damage to overall relations.

In the interview published Friday in the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot, Mr. Sharon asserted that the Americans planned to force Israel to return all land conquered in 1967, including the Golan Heights. The U.S. officials denied this and said that Ameri-

can policy toward Israel's occupied territories, including the Golan Heights, had not changed. The policy is that the future of the territories should be determined by negotiations between Israel and the Arab coun-

Pravda Says U.S. Wanted to Incite

land as a pretext for breaking off arms-control talks. "Imperialist circles in the United States and other NATO countries are perplexed because events in Poland did not develop accord-

structions, money and equipment which were sent to Poland," Mr. He said that fewer than 10 persons had died in Poland since martial law was imposed on Dec. 13, a figure in keeping with official Polish disclosures that seven have been killed. Reports reaching the West have put the number of dead

> inhuman" decision to suspend food shipments and other trade with Poland.

> has enough levers to increase pressure to bear on Poland so that it refrains from, as he put it, any radical actions against extremists from Solidarity," Tass said.

But the emphasis of the reports has suggested that Moscow's chief anxiety was not the U.S. action but the possibility that the Reagan administration might draw West En-

Tass also said that the Polish radio and television had given "nu-merous facts" to support the view that the situation was returning to

rocean nations into matching the

The examples it cited were the end of two confrontations between workers and Polish troops in Silesia that previously had been reported with apparent alarm in the

One was the occupation by workers of the steel mill in Katowice, where Tass said "tranquility has set in." It did not mention that the strike there was smashed last Wednesday by Polish troops.

The second example was the end of a similar occupation of the neighboring Ziemowit coal mine, where, Tass said, "workers who had been forcibly held underground" had come to the surface on Christmas Eve.

Volcano in Zaire Erupts

BRUSSELS - The 11,400-foot

Haig Sees Higher Intervention Risk

Thatcher Fears Winter Joblessness The Associated Press

LONDON - Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was quoted Sunday as saying that recent declines in Britain's unemployment rate are heartening but that she worries about the ranks of the jobiess as winter

WORLD NEWS BRIEFS

TOKYO — The Japanese government put finishing touches Stillday to a controversial budget bill, restoring military funds and allowing an increase in military outlays nearly four times that for social suffice. Premier Zenko Suzuki's government, under pressure from U.S. critics

to increase military spending, gave the Defense Agency what it had requested, thereby overruling the Finance Ministry and its proposed cut.

The budget sets aside \$11.75 billion for military appropriations, the

cources said. That represents an increase of 7.7 percent over the curtout

fiscal year. In contrast, the government allowed a 2-percent instance for

social welfare spending and a 1.2-percent rise for education and science

Japan Bill Restores Military Funds

Unused Press Inte

In an interview with the Sunday Express newspaper. Mrs. Thatther said: "You can imagine that I look out of this window and set this weather and say not only, 'My goodness, it's cold.' I say, 'My goodness.' what is it going to do to the unemployment figures. — because in the last two years, the unemployment figures have risen from December to January considerably. My expectation, I am airsid, is that they will

Britain's anemployment rate, which in September reached 12.4 per-cent, the highest since the 1930s, fell in December for the third straight month. Mrs. Thatcher told the Sunday Express, "I think most of the signs show now that we passed the worst of the recession about three

Sinai Settlers Reported Set for Clash

The Amount Press TEL AVIV -- Israeli settlers in the Sinai town of Yamit, determined not to let the area revert to Egypt, rejected a government call for negotia-tions and reportedly fortified their town Sunday for a possible clash with

The Israeli government called on settlers in the northern Sinai town "to come to practical negotiations ... in order to arrange the compensa-tion they deserve" for homes they would give up when the area is turned over to Egypt on April 26 under the terms of the 1979 peace treaty. Sources in Yamit said the settlers had welded shut two of the town's

three gates, dug trenches around its perimeters, piled up sandbags and barbed wire and equipped themselves with helmets, shields and clubs. Storm Kills at Least 7 in Philippines

United Press International MANILA - A typhoon in the central Philippines killed seven persons. destroyed more than 5,000 homes and left about 26,000 people homeless, preliminary official reports said Sunday.

The reports from relief and rescue agencies showed the worst but area was the coastal town of Calapan on Mindoro Island just south of Manila, where two persons were killed and 5,000 houses were damaged or

2 Dead, 5 Feared Trapped In Pisa Gas Cylinder Blast

PISA — A calling in an old building in central Pisa collapsed after a gas explosion early Sunday afternoon, killing at least two per-sons and injuring 19, police said. As many as five persons were feared to be buried under the rub-

Police said the building, about a kilometer south of the Leaning Tower, contained seven apart ments on the top three floors and a restaurant and bakery on the ground floor.

From Agency Disposither rescued from the rubble with only superficial injuries, told police that

10 to 15 persons were having lunch in the resumment when the building collansed. "We must fear for the lives of we must rear for the ness of some of those people," a fire department spokesman said. "It looks like being a long job and we have rigged up floodlights so that we can work all night if necessary."

Local firefighters immediately began searching through the debris, and reinforcements were summoned from nearby towns. Massimo Bernieri, the chief of the Pisa fire department, said it would take a long time to finish clearing away the rubble because the fire-fighters were taking extra care to

"I was coming down the stairs when I saw flames and felt a violent explosion," said Piero Falci-ani, who lived in the building. "The whole building just sank. I think I cleared tone of bricks to get

where in the building the explosion occurred. The bakery was closed at the time, police said. Firefighters said preliminary investigation indicated that the explosion, which damaged all four floors of the building was caused by a leaking

apartments in the upper floors of the building and eight university students shared a large apartment on the top floor. None of the stu-dents was in at the time, and other

On Saturday, an explosion in the laundry room of a hospital at Mondovi, 50 miles (80 kilometers) south of Turin, killed two persons and injured four. Police said it probably was caused by a bursting

ny, which has extensive trade and financial ties with the Communist

Experiments in Agriculture, Industry and Trade Commended by Russia

BUDAPEST — Can Hungary, with only 11 million people, provide a model for the larger, less-prosperous members of the Warsaw Pact, such as Poland and the

they put the matter in the most delicate possible way. Joszef Bog-nar, a distinguished economist and former Cabinet minister, said the other day that nations whose own economies were not working would have to draw their own conclusions, because "little countries living in the shadow of great powers shouldn't make suggestions."

phisticated country than the United States, at least as far as foreign policy is concerned, but it tries to let the United States take the lead, or to give the impression that it's doing so. For us, it is even harder. Existing as an island of relative content in a sea of misery is never the easiest of situations."

tend to view their position as they look out across a disheveled Eastern Europe, dominated by the cha-os in Poland.

Nonconformist Ally

In many ways, Hungary hardly seems a Communist nation. It is a country where people say what they think, where the real news of the day is broadcast on television. where Western oil companies com-

pete for the motorist's business, where there is plenty to eat, where political discontent is slight and where a casino has been opened in a Budapest hotel.

But the reality of Soviet power, and the prospect that it might yet be used in Poland, is never far from policy-makers' minds. Such a development would put an end to the benefits that Hungary has derived from detente and, possibly, lead to demands from Moscow for greater ideological conformity.

Popular Leader

It was therefore with great reliah that government officials and others here read a back-page editorial in Pravda, the Soviet Communist Party newspaper, on Dec. 7 that commended in great detail the successful Hungarian experiments in the fields of agriculture, industrial development and trade. It was by far the most explicit Soviet endorsement to date of the quietly but decidedly revolutionary poliries of Hungary's leader, Janos

According to well-informed ources, the Soviet premier, Nikoli A. Tikhonov, said many of the same things in a visit to Budapest just before the crackdown in Po-

pean envoy stationed here, who said recently that "when a father praises one of his children to an excessive degree, the others get an-

His chances of rebuilding the country, let alone winning political acceptance, seemed slim. That is precisely what he has done, in a way that it has been done in none of the other Wessers Beet acres

call the Mandate of Heaven - the sense on the part of the people that it is somehow right that he should

Perhaps because the Hungarian Communist Party had actually been driven from power, something that has not happened else-where, Mr. Kadar was faced with the need to respond to public de-mands. He did so, building a new economic system, flexible and full of incentives, with the help of 11 mmissions of economists and

ther advisers. The character of the Hungarian

they are pragmatists quite accus-tomed to life as a small nation squeezed between great powers the Austrians and the Ottoman Turks, the Soviet Union and the West — and quite adept at better-ing their lot through hard work

Proud and Ambitious

Their energy is noticeable to the foreigner on many levels, whether in the industry of the peasantry, which produced enough ducks and salamis and tomatoes not only to meet domestic needs but also to leave a large surplus for export, or the good-humored bustle with which an attendant fetches coats from the racks after a performance at the Erkel Theater, or the long hours and the obvious intelligence that are taken for granted here in senior government officials.

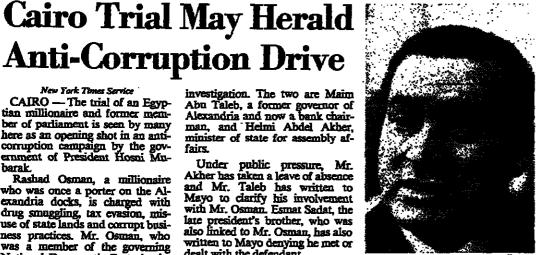
The result is that Mr. Kadar, who will be 70 in May, has few critics, and most of those stand to



Prisoners Released

was a confident of Sadat and is CAIRO (UPI) — Egypt has announced the release of the leader also editor of the mass-circulation weekly Al-Akhbar al-Yom, has of the outlawed Mosiem Brotherpublished a complete transcript of hood and 38 other religious and political figures jailed in a sweep-In his weekly column in Aling crackdown last September by Akhbar al-Yom on Dec. 12, Mr.

The prisoners were freed "on humanitarian grounds, including



3 Die From Spanish Oil

MADRID --- Three persons died over the Christmas holiday after consuming toxic cooking oil, bringing the death toll in the eightmonth-old scandal to 229, the Spanish Health Ministry said Sat-

Move on Poland, Discard Détente MOSCOW - Two days after partment of the Central Committee, asserted in a television talk show that the Soviet Union's only

mal in a matter of weeks had it not

been for the most crude interfer-

ence in that country's home affairs

over air waves, had it not been for

the interference in the form of in-

accusing the United States of trying to wreach Poland from the Soviet bloc, Pravda charged Suninvolvement in Poland was to proday that Washington wanted to vide food and desperately needed provoke Soviet intervention in Poraw materials. "The situation in Poland would have clarified and returned to nor-

ing to their prepared scenario, which would inevitably involve 'Soviet interference,' " Sunday's article said. "They dreamed that one day this would give them the chance to heighten international tensions, discard everything connected with détente and abandon any talks on the limitation and reduction of armaments."

Death Toll Unclear

The commentary made no specific reference to the Soviet-U.S. talks on limiting medium-range nuclear weapons, which began in Geneva on Nov. 30. The U.S. government has repeatedly stated that any Soviet military intervention in Poland would seriously endanger

international efforts to limit arms. Tass, in a report on Saturday, accused the United States of "crudely interfering" in Polish affairs, and said the turnoil in Poland would have subsided long ago had it not been sustained by Western money, equipment and propaganda.

as high as 200.

Mr. Falin's comments echoed the Tass report, which assailed Alexander M. Haig Jr., the U.S. secretary of state, for what was termed Washington's "especially

"He frankly said that the U.S.A.

Since Mr. Reagan announced sanctions last Wednesday, the So-

The Associated Press

(3,470-meter) high Nyiragongo volcano in eastern Zaire erupted Saturday, the Zaire news agency viet news media have struck out Valentin Falin, first deputy of angeily at U.S. efforts to construct

Soviet press.

(Continued from Page 1) Jaruzelski is a Soviet surrogate and the Russians are dictating the action, there would seem to be little chance for outside leverage on the Polish crackdown, Mr. Haig agreed. But he added, "There's

much evidence to challenge that theory in its extreme, "For 18 months," he noted, "for whatever reason, both the Polish government and party, which has now been supplanted by a military

showdown_' Secondly, the Russians, despite what he described as "major steps to intimidate, coerce [and] threaten" the Poles, did not intervene with force.

junta, felt constrained not to face a

The restraints have not disap-peared, even though "an internal repression replete with ambiguies" was launched, Mr. Haig said. Whatever theory of motivation

The current and future significance of the Polish events for the Western alliance and East-West relations is of historic proportions, according to Mr. Haig. In his view, these events "have a fundamental effect on the broadest issues surrounding East-West relations and future international dynamics."

Mr. Haig spoke of unity at this point as a major priority, especially in the context of what he described as a long-term effort by the Russians to split the Western alliance, particularly to split off West

He described the recent strains on the alliance, including a seem-ingly sudden turn against détente by the Reagan administration. At the same time, he seemed relatively confident that the differences can be managed within the basic policy direction on Poland set by Mr. Reagan in his speech Wednesday

bloc, and that it might be unrealistic to expect all to respond in exactly the same way.

Regarding the Polish debts to the West, Mr. Haig said the administration is not trying to infla-

ence the actions of private U.S. banks that hold \$1.3 billion of Poland's \$16 billion in debts to foreign private institutions.

The banks, he said, have in-curred their obligations on their own calculation ... and we have great confidence that their assessment of the uncertainties with sound business criteria is an adequate restraint. That does not mean that events could not alter that," He added that while they cannot be overlooked, "it is important that we do not permit such a significant political event to be skewed by excess concern for financial implications."

Mr. Haig refused to comment on reports that alleged Libyan as-sassination squads have suspended their attempts to infiltrate the United States, but he added that "if such reports are true, it under-lies the validity of the steps taken gas cylinder. Police said four families lived in people living over the restaurant had only minor injuries.

He acknowledged that attempts to work out a NATO system of one accepts, Mr. Haig said, the U.S. responsibility, and that of its sauctions would cause difficulties allies, is to "optimize the leverage" for reconciliation, compromise and for countries such as West Germacompliance with the Helsinki ac-To Hungary, Its Success Is a Model for the East

By R.W. Apple Jr. New York Times Service

Many Hungarians think so, but

"Britain," he said, "is a more so-

And that is how the Hungarians

to stampede the Hungarians into trumpeting their own virtues too loudly. Most of them would agree with the rather sour, and perhaps

For Mr. Kadar this must have been, apart from worries over the Polish situation, a satisfying year. Twenty-five years ago, he came to power by courtesy of Soviet tanks.

of the other Warsaw Pact coun-"Kadar," said an admiring West European diplomat, "has re-estab-lished political legitimacy. He has regained what the Chinese used to

ople helped. Unlike the Poles, ngarians are not romantics most of the time, although they succumb to the occasional doomen outburst of political passion, as in 1848 and 1956. For the most part,

Hungarians are also tremen-dously proud — of the unusuainess of their language, of their national heroes such as Kossuth of their products such as the big sleek lkarus buses that ply the streets here and in dozens of other European capitals.

his left. He refuses to think or talk about who will take over when ho dies or retires, and that wornes many thoughtful Hungarians, because much remains to be done before the country's problems are fully solved.

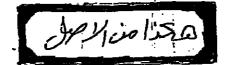


"Few yet realize the importance of the Pacific region, with Japan as the anchor of the Northeast, the major economic engine in the area."

Ed Reingold asked for this, his second tour of duty as covering the Caribbean out of the Miami bureau, he Tokyo bureau chief, because he wanted to follow reported on the upheaval in Panama, revolution in and report on a long-range but intensely exciting nity of nations. Before and between his Far East nessed and wrote about the ferment throughout stints. Reingold has piled up plenty of experience in the political and economic arena - reporting on ev- where who are alert to news in all its forms, whether a erything from the Kennedy, Nixon and Carter cam- sudden coup or a slowly emerging community of in-

the Dominican Republic, and developments in Casstory the development of the Pacific Basin commu- tro's Cuba. As Nairobi bureau chief Reingold wit-Africa. He is typical of TIME correspondents everypaigns to the auto industry crisis in Detroit. While terests. So TIME readers get it fresh...and often first.

TIME. The news magazine for the internationally minded.





STROLLING SCHMIDTS - West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and his wife, Hannelore, are vacationing until Jan. 4 on Sanibel Island off southwest Florida. They plan an unofficial visit to Washington at the end of the trip.

Rocket Firm Reports It Halted Tests in Libya

By Judith Miller

New York Times Service WASHINGTON - A West German company that has been devel-oping rockets with a potential military application has halted its testing work in Libya, company offi-

cials say. Frank Wukasch, president of OTRAG — an acronym for Orbit-al Transport-und-Raketen-Aktiengesellschaft — said that the com-pany began withdrawing personnel and abandoning its rocket-lannch-ing base at Jarmah, 430 miles (688 kilometers) south of Tripoli in the Libyan Sahara, about two months

> ago.
> "All of our people have left; we no longer have any business in Li-bya," Mr. Wukasch said in an in-terview.

OTRAG's activities in Libya and its previous rocket-testing program in Zaire sparked protests from the United States and Westem European governments. U.S. elligence reports suggested last fall that the company was using its ostensibly peaceful rocket program to mask efforts to sell military military rockets, to Libya, Paki-

stan, Iraq, and other countries. Mr. Wukasch and other company representatives have denied the reports. They say that OTRAG has been attempting to develop cheap rockets that could launch salites and other payloads into orbit for peaceful purposes.

OTRAG's departure from Libya followed an internal company battle, according to sources close to the organization. The struggle, sources said, resulted in the dismissal of Lutz T. Kayser, an aerospace engineer who founded the company in the mid-1970s.

Mr. Wukasch said he did not know where Mr. Kayser was or what he was doing but company and intelligence officials said he was still in Libya helping in missile

Company Restructuring

Mr. Wukasch said the company was being restructured so that it could concentrate on the development of sounding rockets for highaltitude scientific research. He said OTRAG had obtained preliminary research agreements with two West German universities, which he declined to identify.

Sources close to the company said that OTRAG's restructuring was set off by pressure from mem-bers of the board of directors who were displeased by the controversy around the Libyan venture.

Mr. Wukasch said OTRAG had decided not to develop its own rocket launching installations but, rather, to use existing launch sites operated by other countries and

"This will help eliminate the po-litical problems of OTRAG-owned sites," he remarked. "In Libya, and in Zaire before that, other countries accused us of developing military technology. We denied these charges, but problems per-

Zaire Departure Forced

In April, 1979, OTRAG was forced to leave its test area in Zaire

over which it had exercised virtually sovereign control - following diplomatic protests from France and the Soviet Union. After being denied a testing site in Brazil, the company moved to Li-

by a two years ago.

Suspicion about the company's rocket project had been heightened because Libyan military officials, including those connected with Libya's atomic energy program, were in charge of much of OTRAG's operations, according to the intelli-gence reports. A significant part of the budget of the Libyan Ministry of Atomic Energy was said to be devoted to OTRAG-related activi-

ties, intelligence officials said.
OTRAG said that two of its four publicized tests had been suc-cessful, but many scientists remain skeptical about the results as well as the feasibility and viability of

the rocket project.

Efforts by OTRAG and other
private concerns to develop rockets have been matters of concern to the United States. Officials contend that such vehicles could be used as ballistic missiles to deliver

chemical or nuclear warheads. An interagency group formed last fall has been examining the spread of missiles and related space technology and attempting to determine whether additional restrictions on export controls are

prediction in the United States, in the view of some scientists, oc-curred eight years ago in the Adi-rondack Mountains of New York.

A team from Columbia'a Lamont-

Doherty Geological Observatory predicted a quake with fairly precise time and location after

measuring wave velocities from a series of tiny foreshocks.

Unfortunately, the same technique later proved "an abysmal failure" in California, Mr. Johnson

Chinese scientists claim to have

predicted large tremons and saved many lives, but such success has cluded American scientists. The

last death from an earthquake in the United States occurred here 10 years ago, but the number of small quakes in Southern California has

increased recently and there are enough other signs of unusual un-derground activity to put earth-quake watchers under some pres-

Computerized Data

Mr. Johnson, head of the U.S. Geological Survey field office at Cal Tech, is trying to computerize

the earthquake data in a way that will provide new clues.

Earthquake scientists come from

said he has invented a seismic de-

vice that emits a high-pitched tone

Pact Change, **Ex-Aide Says**

U.S. Reportedly Asked To Ease Rule on Cash

VIENNA — Iran cannot meet one of the terms of the agreement that freed 52 American hostages last January and has begun secret talks with U.S. officials on modifying the requirement, according to the former governor of the Iranian

Quoting Iranian officials in-volved in the talks, Ali Reza Nobari said in an interview that Iran did not have the cash to maintain a -billion account at the Bank of England that it agreed to establish for payment of U.S. claims against

The former governor, who fled Iran in September, refused to say where the talks were being held but did say that Iran wanted to postpone some immediate payment obligations.

He speculated that the United

States may agree to such a delay if it could ensure that all claims mostly for compensation for na-tionalization or breach of contract by the revolutionary government that deposed the shah in 1979 were eventually paid.

As part of the agreement releas-

ing the hostages and unfreezing Iranian assets held by the United States, Tehran agreed to open the billion-dollar account and to bring it back up to that level whenever settlements reduced it to \$500 mil-

Overail U.S. claims are estimated to total between \$3 billion and \$4 billion, which is more than the Tehran government can pay now, Mr. Nobari quoted his sources as

Time Running Short

Mr. Nabari, an ally of former President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, said that time is running short be-cause claims not settled out of court will go to an international arbitration board due to open hearings in The Hague in mid-January.

Iranian sources here said that representatives of only about 100 of the approximately 2,500 U.S. firms with claims against Iran have come to Vienna to discuss possible out-of-court settlements with an

Iranian negotiating team.
Just 10 or 15 settlements have been reached so far, according to U.S. sources.

Mr. Nobari, who has lived mainly in France since leaving Iran, quoted officials as saying the cen-tral bank's reserves stand at only about \$650 million despite a state-ment by his successor that they were at a "reliable level." The decline in reserves, a reduc-

tion in oil income and Iran's problem in finding other funds were leading to a serious cash squeeze, Mr. Nobari said.

The former governor of the cen-tral bank, the Bank Markazi, said he had learned that both Algeria and Libva had rejected recent Iranian requests for loans. Mr. Nobari, who was still in off-

ice when the hostage agreement was worked out, accused the United States of dragging its feet in re-turning Iranian assets and repaying Iranian claims.

William P. Gwinn, 74, Former Head Of the United Aircraft Corp., Is Dead

Washington Past Service Mr. Gwinn was elected presi-WASHINGTON — William P. dent and chief administrative offi-Gwinn, 74, who rose from stock cer of United Aircraft in 1956 and clerk to chief executive of the became the corporation's chief ex-United Aircraft Corp., now United ecutive in 1968. He retired in 1972. Technologies Corp. of Hartford, Conn., died of cancer Friday in Palm Beach, Fla.

Mr. Gwinn headed the corpora-tion's largest unit, Pratt & Whitney Aircraft, for 14 years, directing the firm's huge World War II engine production and its postwar transi-tion from piston to jet propulsion. Pratt & Whitney, which shipped more than 363,000 aircraft engines during the war, now is the world's largest producer of jet engines for commercial and military aircraft.

Suat Hayri Urguplu

ISTANBUL (Reuters) - Former Turkish Premier Suat Hayri Urguplu, 78, died Saturday, Turk-ish state television reported.

Mr. Urguplu was premier for seven months in 1965, heading a several key diplomatic posts in the 1950s, including appointments as ambassador to the United States

Iran Seeking Atlanta Looks the Other Way as Murder Trial Approaches

By Wendell Rawls Jr. New York Times Service

ATLANTA — The crimes were on virtually every lip for nearly two years, but the trial that begins Monday for the man accused of slaying two of 28 murdered young people in Atlanta seems to be something this city of ghettos and gentility would rather not think

Wayne B. Williams, 23, a selfstyled music promoter and elec-tronics gadabout, is charged with first-degree murder in the last two of the 28 killings, which occurred from 1979 to 1981 and terrorized parents and children in the pre-dominantly black sections of the city. All the victims, who ranged in age from 7 to 27, were black, as is Mr. Williams.

On the eve of the trial, the pervasive thought in the community was expressed by Jan Douglas, ex-ecutive director of the Community Relations Commission. "What is on everyone's mind is that when Wayne Williams was arrested, the killings stopped," she said in an in-

"Everyone was enormously re-

lieved that the killings stopped, but now folks are kind of like an ostrich. Nobody even talks about the trial. It's almost like this experience over the past two years has been too much for people to deal with. The whole situation was so horrendous, people don't want to deal with it."

Curfew Still in Force

There seems little question that tensions have abated and activities the city have returned to normal. However, a 7 p.m. to 6 a.m. curfew remains in effect for youths under the age of 16, and youngsters continue to practice many of the precautions they learned in the days of dreading "the Snatcher," as they came to call the mysterious source of disappearances and deaths among their playmates and

We find youngsters continuing to travel in groups of three and four or more," said Lee P. Brown, the public safety commissioner, "and they rarely violate the curfews. Parents seem to have maintained their habits of monitoring their children's whereabouts and

such details, However, a law en-forcement official familiar with Atlanta police activities, who re-quested anonymity, said that the special task force formed to inves-tigate the murders had dwindled to about 45 from 110 since Mr. Williams was arrested in June. The official also said that the

city had not had any unsolved cases of missing and murdered juveniles since Mr. Williams was arrest-

Surreptitious Interviews

As for Mr. Williams, the public was hearing reports about a bar-rage of motions filed in court by his attorneys, and of tape-recorded, behind-bars interviews arranged surrepitiously by his attorney, Mary Welcome, for Us magazine in violation of the judge's ban on the disclosure of details about

Jury selection for the trial is set to begin Monday, and Judge Clar-ence Cooper of Fulton County Superior Court has predicted that it will take almost two weeks to choose a jury.

Testimony and introduction of evidence could take another six

both sides involved in technical and scientific arguments about the validity of microscopic examina-tions of fibers and dog hairs found on the bodies of the victims and taken from a bedspread and carpet in Mr. Williams' room in his parents' home in West Atlanta.

Prosecutors and law enforcement officials privately have expressed fears that complicated, highly technical testimony from analysts could bewilder jurors. Lewis Slaton, the district attorney, who will try the case personally, delayed approval of the arrest of Mr. Williams for several days while investigators tried to develop stronger physical evidence against

The defense attorneys repeatedly have expressed reservations about their ability to get a fair trial in Atlanta or elsewhere because of the extensive local, national and international news coverage of the murders and Mr. Williams' arrest. But Mr. Williams' attorneys have not asked for a change of venue, and the judge has said that the jury will be sequestered for the length of the proceeding.

Media Examine Ethics of 'Stakeout' Journalism

By Jonathan Friendly New York Times Service

NEW YORK - To Richard V. Allen, it was the television crew that pursued his daughter to nursery school. To Louisa Kennedy, it was the 5 a.m. telephone call from a reporter seeking her reaction to the death of the shah of Iran. To Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, it was the photographer who sprang in front of her as she came out of a Manhattan movie theater.

In each of these cases, the sub-ject of the intensive coverage has raised an issue that reporters say troubles them as well: where and how to draw the line between a legitimate interest in a public figure and the improper invasion of that person's privacy. The journalists, while defending their right and obligation to pursue information, say that harassment, real or apparent, could undercut public support for

news gathering.
"It isn't helpful to us," said Michael J. O'Neill, the president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors and editor of the New York Daily News, to diminish "the public's sense of our being fair and humane in the way we behave."

Mr. Allen, who went on leave as Mr. Alien, who well on have as the national security adviser to President Reagan while an inquiry into a \$1,000 gift from Japanese journalists was pursued, said the line had been crossed repeatedly by reporters who gathered outside his house as early as 5:30 a.m. day after day last month. The idling motors of the television trucks awoke his neighbors, he said, and one reporter climbed a tree to look

in his window. He said he came home around 11 p.m. one night from a formal dinner and, walking from his car, was blinded by the lights of the television crews. That was when he stepped into the garbage left by a camera crew that had eaten dinner while waiting for him to return.

Many reporters say that such stakeouts usually produce little hard information from a person who does not want to talk. But one

INTERNATIONAL rieraid Utionne

Our editors would like to hear from you

Interested in the arts and in leisure activities? Keeping up with the latest new restaurants? New movies and new plays? Do you turn quickly to Art Buchwald, Russell Baker and William Safire or is it the bridge column or the comics that get top priority?

Arts and leisure coverage is one area where the interests of our readers are diverse. We hope the questionnaire below will help us understand them better. Whether you regularly read our features or not, your response will be helpful—and greatly appreciated.

What are your regular sources of arts and leisure information?

And which topics would you particularly like to read more about?

Questionnaires concerning other sections of the paper will appear in the coming months as part of our continuing review of how we can better serve our

Thank you for your co-operation.

Please return the questionnaire to Barbara Lewis, International Herald Tribune, 181 Ave. Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly Cedex, France.

Is there anything you particularly like or dislike in the arts and culture coverage of

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Eo/Television/Other (please spo				Once a week, the International Herslel Tribune publishes a special section called WEEKEND. How often do you read this section of the paper?
Here is a selection of arts an	2. d leisure copics nai Herald Trib	that are cover	ed in the	At least once a month
Please indicate how often y	०० धन्त्रपु स्त्रदेव अत	ick in the ne	vsрарсх.	Less phen
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Records & Tapes				Average
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California Chase: Predicting Next Big Quake Scientists, Psychics and Laymen Work Against a Geological Clock

By Jay Mathews ington Post Service

1

LOS ANGELES — Carl John-son, 35, a geophysicist, wakes at 4 a.m. at least once a week to worry about earthquakes. Sometimes he just gives up on sleep and goes off to his office at

the California Institute of Technology.

"He's thinking there may be something he can do to predict the first big earthquake," said his wife,

Chuck Koesterer, 32, an elec-Chuck Koesterer, 12, an electronics technician, has found his life moving with the erratic rhythms of the Pacific plate, the huge piece of the earth's crust sliding ponderously up the coast of his native California. His job is to get government sensors to the spot of a major quake in the mountains or deserts, so every large temblor sets

deserts, so every large temblor sets off his electronic besper.

"It always seems to happen in the middle of the night," said his wife Sherv!

wife, Sheryl Mr. Johnson and Mr. Koesterer, with hundreds of other geologists, mathematicians, technicians, graduate students and psychics along the coast, are engaged in a scientific race. They are trying to find a way to predict earthquakes before the next his one densitates a main.

the next big one devastates a major city in California. The thrill of the chase, which intrigues nearly everyone living here, is enough to make many decline much better paying jobs in the oil

The first successful earthquake

many fields, such as Cal Tech researcher Kate Hutton, an astronomer. And some are not scientists, but earthquake buils who volunteer their services. Robert Parsons, 45, à telephone company transmission technician.

within 24 hours of a major quake. In the Northern California town of Carmel, Clarisa Bernhardt said she has visions of a photo, or a calendar with the date circled, and the word earthquake stamped across it, and has successfully foreseen

earthquakes this way.

In recent years, scientific research on earthquake prediction has focused on history. Scientists have spent considerable time recording all quakes in recent history to see if there is a pattern that might yield clues.

might yield clues.

Mr. Johnson and Mr. Hutton, looking at the pattern of recent quakes and the way they come sometimes in complex "swarms," reported to the American Geophysical Vision in San Econography. sical Union in San Francisco recently that a system of faults near the Salton Sea thought to have been dormant has shown the potential for damaging quakes.

Cal Tech assistant professor Kerry Sieh has unearthed old fis-sures that indicate that the last great Southern California earth-quake in 1857 was part of a series

recurring every 123 to 225 years.
According to a U.S. government estimate based on Mr. Sieh's work,

The fascination with earth-quakes among researchers here tends to extend to their family and the two years they have been foresocial lives. "I would prefer to talk casting.

ly," said Nancy Johnson, who teaches the physically handicapped. Several universities and the U.S.

Geological Survey have scattered mechanical earthquake detectives all over the state — seismometers. strainmeters, radon meters, tiltmeters, magnometers and creep me-

Some scientists think the measurements of underground radon gas, on a recent upswing, may signal approaching quakes. But none of the sensors has yielded consist-ent clues. With so few large quakes, they can only be put to a test sporadically. Earthquake scientists have al-

ready proved the value of seismometers, which measure vi-brations in the earth, by their accurate prediction of eruptions at Mount St. Helens. Volcanoes, however, are far easier to predict because, unlike earthquakes, their precise location is usually known in advance and seismometers can be placed in the best positions.

estimate based on Mr. Sieh's work, that quake has a better than 50-percent chance of recurring in the next 30 years and could kill more than 13,000 Southern Californians, leave 100,000 homeless and cause 105 billion in damage.

The fascination with earth-quakes among researchers here Ned North, 64, and Robert Par-

Wayne B. Williams after his arrest last June in Atlanta. to educate the people to do when the problem was recognized."

The commissioner declined to discuss any aspect of the murder investigation or other topic covered by a Superior Court judge's order prohibiting the disclosure of

of the reporters who kept watch on Mr. Allen's lawn, Mike Von Fremd of ABC-TV, said that it had struck on the chin by the camera lens, but the film showed no such

proved worthwhile because on several occasions Mr. Allen had pansed to talk to the reporters.

Freed from his duties, Mr. Allen actively used television appearances and other interviews to express his side of the issue, insisting that the television appearances be live

rather than taped.

The most notable recent stakeout was one last summer outside the home of Wayne B. Williams, who was eventually charged with the murders of two of the 28 slain young blacks in Atlanta. Even as the stakeout was under way, re-porters and editors debated whether they should even report Mr. Williams' name, since he was not formally a suspect.

Bill Rose, the Atlanta reporter for The Miami Herald, recalled being part of a crowd of up to 50 reporters at the Williams house and leaving after a few minutes, "halfway grossed out." Members of the Williams family, he said, were virtually prisoners in their

own home." Earlier this month, a smaller stakeout, the subject of which was Chief Justice Warren E. Burger outside a hotel in Lincoln, Neb., produced no information on charges in a book by John D. Ehrlichman that in the Nixon administration the chief justice had talked to President Richard M. Nixon about pending cases. But it did lead Justice Burger to knock a CBS camera to the floor when he was followed into an elevator car. He said he was reacting to being Even very public events can pro-

vide examples of invasion of priva-cy. Last September, a Florida jury ordered a Cocoa Beach newspaper to pay \$10,000 to a woman who had been held captive by her es-tranged husband. The paper print-

Tanzania to Get Urgent Food Aid

The Associated Press
DAR ES SALAAM, Tanzania —
Western nations have pledged nearly 260,000 tons of emergency food aid to Tanzania, greatly re-ducing the possibility of famine early next year, according to diplomatic sources.

A Western diplomat said response to an appeal in mid-November by the government of President Julius K. Nyerere "has been overwhelming." Other diplomats said the food pledged over the past five weeks will not arrive and be distributed in time to avert famine entirely. "But it will start to arrive soon enough to ensure that there won't be widespread famine," a

difformat said.
David Masanja, principal secretary in the Ministry of Agriculture, said in late October that the country's food stocks would run out in December or January and that nothing had been done to seek international aid. Tanzania, one of the world's poorest countries, has been suffering from a shortage of rain and from agricultural

ed a photograph of her fleeing the house, naked except for a hand towel. The editor told the jury that photograph "best capsulized dramatic and tragic event." Her lawyer contended the picture simply violated "good taste."

Instances of apparent invasion of privacy occur repeatedly. This month, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis told a federal court in Manhattan that a free-lance photographer, Ron Galella, was continu-ing to make her life "intolerable" despite court orders that he stay

away. Similarly, the Princess of Wales has been subjected to intensive coverage, with photographers popping out of the bushes when she emerges from her house in Gloucester, England. Two weeks ago, British editors said they would reduce the coverage after Queen Elizabeth II's press secre-tary told them that the princess, former Lady Diana Spencer, feels totally beleaguered."

Louisa Kennedy, whose hus-band, Moorhead C. Kennedy Jr., was held hostage in Iran for 444 days, said the hostage families were simply not prepared for the spotlight into which they were thrust. She recalled that when her family was home for Christmas a year ago, "we couldn't get on the phone or walk out the front door without the cameras grinding."

Mr. Von Fremd of ABC said

that a CBS cameraman outside the Allen home had shown that same doubt. The cameraman carried a sign announcing: "Mr. Allen, I'm only here because my company is

French Detain 9 Chinese In Drug Smuggling Case PARIS — French detectives have arrested nine Chinese believed to

be operating a major heroin-smug-gling network between Hong Kong and Europe, police said Sunday. The nine were detained in Paris early Friday as they were deliver-ing 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of pure white heroin, authorities said. The nine are Hong Kong Chinese



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By William Borders New York Times Service

LONDON - A broad range of public opinion in England has united against the U.S. govern-ment's decision to bar a visit by the Rev. Ian Paisley, the Protestant leader in Northern Ireland.

As expected, Mr. Paisley reacted furiously to the cancellation of his visa last Monday, calling it part of a U.S.-British plot to force Northern Ireland into unification with the Republic of Ireland. In the days since then, all three

of London's major newspapers, al-though not defending Mr. Paisley's views, have questioned the wisdom of keeping him out of the United States, as have a number of other

He is, after all, a member of the British Parliament," said a high-ranking government official in London. "I detest what he has to say, but even so, I can't understand why the Americans would not let him in to say it.

In an editorial entitled "Paisley and the Home of Liberty," The Times of London said, "At the behest of Irish nationalists in the United States, the State Depart-ment has denied its citizens a useful little bit of education at first

The Guardian said, "The American public is surely not so frail that it needs to be protected from his arguments" and the Daily Tele-

lation of Mr. Paisley's visa could help the cause of Protestant extremism by making him seem a

The State Department's decision was based on what it called the "divisive" nature of his recent public comments, presumably including a speech to a 4.000-man paramilitary volunteer force he assem-bled in a little town near Belfast one night last month.

"We shall fight with everything we have got," he said then. "As Ul-ster Protestants, we will never surrender. Many of us will have to lay down our lives to give our children the freedom they deserve."

But as even his enemies in Northern Ireland concede, Mr. Paisley, for all his bluster, has been careful not to break any laws. By contrast. Owen Carron, a militant republican member of Parliament whom the United States also barred this year, is outspoken and explicit about his support for the Irish Republican Army and its violent guerrilla war against the British.

In Northern Ireland, the decision to bar Mr. Paisley tends to make the Protestant community there feel all the more beleaguered and isolated.

Although many Protestants in the province condemn him, he has shown himself the biggest votegetter in the last two electoral tests of strength.



Danielle Mitterrand with her husband, Francois, last May.

Danielle Mitterrand: An Enigmatic First Lady

By Susan Heller Anderson

New York Times Service
"I will not renounce my role of
militant in the bosom of national
and international humanitarian organizations." - Danielle Mitterrand. "My wife is a bit more leftist — President François Mit-

PARIS - When Francois Mitterrand ran unsuccessfully for president in 1965 and 1974, his wife. Danielle, was presented as the dutiful housewife, surrounded by floppy-eared dogs and wide-eyed children.

Since Mr. Mitterrand was elected earlier this year, Mrs. Mitter-rand has been viewed by close obrand has been viewed by close ob-servers and the French press as an influential foreign policy pipeline to her husband. Each day, she works at Socialist Party headquar-ters as the director of Solidarité Salvador et Amérique 1 atine 2 Salvador et Amérique Latine, a party organization that supports the guerrillas in El Salvador politi-

The question now puzzling Mit-terrand watchers is: Which is the real Danielle? And just how influential is she?

"Danielle Mitterrand has been a political activist at her husband's side for 37 years," states her official biography issued by the

French government.

Mrs. Mitterrand was reported to have been a major influence in convincing her husband to initiate a French-Mexican resolution last August to support the Salvadoran guerrillas, a move that severely

French Wonder How Much Influence She Exerts on President Politically

Mitterrand government.

"El Salvador bas been her baby for many years," said a longtime Mitterrand supporter. The rightist daily Minute called her "Danielle.

La Pasionaria de l'Elysée."
Although a U.S. diplomat said
he found this impression exaggerated, he said Mrs. Mitterrand nevertheless shares the views of the most leftist members of her husband's inner circle.

Mrs. Mitterrand herself points to El Salvador as her pet cause. She sent this letter, which was made public, to Maureen Reagan after the shooting of President Reagan in March: "I was very moved by your reac-

tion that led you to denounce publicly this absurd violence, with all the indignation of a daughter trembling for the life of her father. But permit me to bring your attention to the numerous assassinations perpetrated by your neigh-bor, El Salvador, by men support-ed, equipped and armed by your

Mrs. Mitterrand's politics were honed in the fervor of the French Resistance movement of World War II. She was born in 1924 in Verdun and raised in Burgundy. Her parents were educators and during the war their house was a refuge for Resistance members. Mrs. Mitterrand worked as a nurse in the Resistance and received the

Reagan administration and the Medal of the Resistance when she was 20, one of the youngest so honored. Another Resistance hero was François Mitterrand.

Mrs. Mitterrand's sister, Christine Gouze, now a film producer, was a friend of Francois Mitter-rand. In February, 1944, he visited her Paris apartment and saw a photograph of her sister, Danielle, then 19. After asking who she was, Mr. Mitterrand declared, "I'm

going to marry her."

They met under the pressure of war and occupation and, six months later, married in the exhilaration of freedom and liberation. "We didn't waste our time — it was precious," she recalls in Franz-Olivier Geisbert's authorized biography. "Francois Mitterrand." The couple have two sons, the older a journalist and the younger a politi-cian. A third child died as an in-

'A Remarkable Woman'

After 37 years of marriage Mrs. Mitterrand has hardly changed physically. But she has changed visibly in the image she seeks to convey, and in her willingness to share the spotlight with her hus-band. In 1965 she refused to give an interview without consulting him. "I don't do anything without his OK," she said. Now, she refuses interviews, except with a handful of favored writers, and trail to devote herself to the El Sal-vador cause. She has practically re-moved herself from the public eye since the election.

"She doesn't want to be La Pre-sidente," reports Le Matin, refer-ring to the French custom whereby presidential wives are entitled "Mrs. President." Thus far, she has avoided elaborate state receptions and most formal affairs. Unlike her predecessors, she does not fre-quent the haute couture, preferring a distinctly unchic wardrobe.

A private, dignified woman, she is surrounded by fiercely loyal friends reluctant to discuss her. 'She's a remarkable woman," says an intimate, "Intelligent, fervent, well-read, politically involved."
"When you live for 35 years near someone as committed as Francois, you can only follow the same path." Mrs. Mitterrand herself said in a rare newspaper interviewafter the election.

Yet the couple are believed to have lived essentially separate lives for some years. "Celibates united by the act of marriage," Mr. Gies-bert says in his authorized biography. Before the presidential cam-paign. Mrs. Mitterrand was ru-mored to be seeking a divorce; it is said that she relented on the eve of this year's contest.

"Francois Mitterrand's reluctance to lift the veil on his private life prevents the precise measure-ment of the political influence his wife may have exerted during 30 Mr. Giesbert concludes. years," Mr. Giesbert concludes. "Without doubt, this influence is

Irish Premier Sees Growing Prospects for Ulster Accord

By Leonard Downie Jr.

Washington Post Service DUBLIN — High-risk initiatives recently launched by Britain and Ireland offer the best opportunity in years to achieve peaceful politi-cal progress in British-ruled Northern Ireland, in the view of Irish

Premier Garret FitzGerald. Just months after being at odds with each other over the hunger strike by convicted Irish nationalist terrorists in Northern Ireland's Maze prison, Britain and Ireland now "are both clearly on the same path" in their approach to the Ul-ster problem, Mr. FitzGerald said in an interview.

With the hunger strike and much of the rest of the prison protest now over, British Prime Minis-ter Margaret Thatcher's government is launching a major initia-tive to establish limited home rule in Northern Ireland. Mr. FitzGerald, who took office six months ago, described it as the first "serious attempt of this kind in five or

He endorsed the strategy of Mrs. Thatcher's Northern Ireland secretary, James Prior, who is seeking to persuade Ulster political

leaders to "reluctantly accept" an imposed British compromise between Protestant insistence on unfettered majority rule and demands by members of the Catholic minority for a disproportionate

share of power in the province. Despite a hardening of sectarian attitudes in Northern Ireland because of the hunger strike and a subsequent wave of Provisional Irish Republican Army terrorism. Mr. FitzGerald said, surveys there continue to indicate that "public opinion has never been as closed to the idea of finding some kind of compromise as the attitudes of some [Ulster_political] leaders

would suggest. "Conditions are probably more favorable for that now than they have been in years," he said. "People have had a very long period of direct rule [by London], almost 10 years now, and they are looking for some way to regain control over their local affairs."

Most politicians, and indeed even some of those who express themselves in a somewhat more intransigent way, might be willing to have imposed on them something they would never demand if asked

their opinions first," Mr. FitzGerald said, echoing Mr. Prior's own rationale for his strategy. But obviously, whatever emerged would have to be very carefully judged so as to be reluctantly acceptable to both sides."

In Mr. FitzGerald's view, the political risk he said he is taking for the sake of Northern Ireland has attracted some support from Ulster Protestant Unionists who see the Irish and British initiatives as improving relations and economic cooperation between North and South rather than leading to eventual Irish unification.

He emphasized that both the Irish and British governments "share the strong conviction that no solution of the relationship between the North and South of Ireland can or should be imposed without the consent of a majority of the people in North," but he said this is still not understood by many Ulster Unionists wary of being forced into a united Ireland or by Americans and other outsiders with "a very simplistic perception that the problem could be resolved if the British just up and left." Mr. FitzGerald has begun a campaign to reform Ireland's constitution by removing both its ban on divorce and its unconditional territorial claims to Northern Ireland. He has said he is aiming both to modernize Irish society by lessening the constitutional strength of Catholic sectarianism and to improve relations between the Irish Republic and Ulster's Protestant

"It is the one thing we can do ourselves after some decades of talking about what other people should do," he added. "In seeking change either in British policy, the direction of which has been unhelpful at times, or in Northern Ireland, our position is greatly weakened if people can say, 'You aren't even prepared yourselves to make change.' At least we will have removed that obstacle."

Mr. FitzGerald — who acknowledged that he does not yet have majority support among voters has been helped by the absence of strong opposition from Ireland's Roman Catholic Church. It was to win the church hierarchy's approval of Irish independence from Britain that the divorce ban and a

cial position" for the church in Ire-land were originally written into

the constitution. Cardinal Tomas O Fiaich, the Catholic primate of Ireland, said in a recent radio interview it appeared that divorce would be legalized within the next five or 10 years. Despite its disapproval of this trend in public opinion, he said, the church will not instruct Irish voters — about 90 percent of whom are Catholic — to oppose a referendum removing the divorce ban from the constitution.

Mr. FitzGerald said his campaign for constitutional change puts an extra burden on his minority coalition government at a time when it must take unpopular steps to deal with a serious financial cri-

Opposition Group Forms New Party In the Philippines New York Times Service

MANILA - Fourteen members of various opposition groups have formed a new party, the Social Democratic Party of the Philippines, to begin building a unified opposition to the rule of President

Elections are tentatively planned in June for barangays, or citizens' assemblies, which are like town councils and are the smallest political units in the Philippines. If the new party can organize a grass-roots following quickly

enough to make a respectable showing in the elections, it may be able to run candidates in the 1984 elections for the National Assembly. Mr. Marcos, who won a sixyear term in an uncontested elec-tion last June, will not run again

Since the lifting of martial law last Jan. 17, there has been in-creased political activity, although the opposition groups have not shown any inclination to unite. The Social Democratic Party. which describes itself as a grouping of several opposition assemblymen, still does not represent a coa-lition of the groups those men rep-

Homobono A. Adaza, an opposition leader, denounced the new party as "nothing but a counterfeit cos." Mr. Marcos has welcomed the formation of the new party. whose leaders have said they want to form a "truly democratic system in a basement restaurant after an of government" while providing explosion Saturday, police said. the country with "an alternative to



Garret FitzGerald speaking at a recent news conference.

Strategic Town Reported to Fall To Chad Rebels

PARIS — Anti-government in-surgents have captured the strategic town of Ourn Hadjer in eastcentral Chad, and peacekeeping troops have been sent to reinforce the neighboring town of Ati, according to reports reaching Paris.

The commander of the Zairian contingent of the Organization of African Unity peacekeeping force said troops loyal to former Chadian Defense Minister Hissène Habré now control Oum Hadjer, more than 150 miles (240 kilometers) from Chad's border with Sudan, according to an Agence France-Presse report Saturday.

much of the eastern border from their sancturaries inside Sudan. but generally they have refrained from striking so close to the center of the country On Dec. 8, 1,000 members of the OAU force from Zaire were sent to

Mr. Habré's forces control

Ati, about 90 miles from Oum Hadjer, AFP reported. The OAU force was sent into

Chad when the more than 4,000 Libyan troops who had intervened in Chad's civil war last December pulled out in November.

3 Die in Seoul Explosion

SEOUL — Three persons were killed and about 90 were injured when a ceiling collapsed on diners in a basement restaurant after an They said they believed the explosion was caused by cooking gas.

Managua, Urging Unity, **Softens Radical Talk**

MANAGUA - Stung by criticism in Nicaragua and abroad, the Sandinista government is moderating its radical pronouncements and seeking what it terms "national unity."

The Sandinistas received near-

Last week, the government quietly released 26 of the leftists, who had been held without trial under the Sandinistas' sweeping emer-gency laws, and a judge who sentenced one of the businessmen stayed the execution of the sen-

tence so the man could spend Christmas with his family. The government has also planning to invade Nicaragua, Apment soldiers by guerrillas based across the northern border in Hon-

Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto said recently in an interview that Nicaragua is ready to resume ussions with the United States improving relations between the two countries. He denied -- as U.S. State Department has charged - that Nicaragua is providing military aid to leftist rebels in El Salvador or that it is planning to strengthen its huge military forces with Soviet-made MiG

fighter jets. And, calling for "national uni-," the Sandinista leadership has comed back into the Council of State, the nation's legislative branch, four small opposition parties and two independent labor unions that quit a year ago because of the Sandinistas' leftist trends. The council is composed of representatives of unions, associations and parties, most of them San-

"The opposition is very skeptiolive branch. But it may be just a

By Dial Torgerson

universal disapproval in October when they arrested 100 members of the Communist Party and its labor union and four leading industrialists and businessmen, who were accused of violating economic security laws by criticizing the

moderated its attacks on the United States, which it contended was parently seeking a substitute threat, the Sandinistas said last week that they are considering de-claring martial law or a state of

Ready to Talk With U.S.

dinista groups. It can propose leg-islation but generally follows the

iunta's wishes ' said a political scientist from tas seem to be holding out the

small move, a gesture — not a real change in direction. The opposition parties see that

Las Angeles Times Service

the frente [the Sandinista front] is under a lot of pressure internationally and locally, and they think that this is a time to rejoin and bargain for something for them-

The Sandinista government has never been under more pressure. Big strides in reconstructing the country were made last year after the revolution that deposed the dictator, Anastasio Somoza, in . July, 1979. But now the Sandinistas have lost the support of the United States and the economy is: near bankruptcy. The United States cut off a \$75 million annual aid package because of Nicaragua's suspected assistance to the Salvadoran leftists.

Foreign reserves of hard currency are practically nil. Without cash buy imports, factories are closing because of lack of materials, and shelves in many shops are empty. Anything imported, including such basic items as toothpaste

and sugar, is hard to find. The country's public debt is staggering: \$2.5 billion in a nation of 2.6 million people. The Sanabout \$1.4 billion in debts of the

Somoza regime. Factories are closing, including some taken over by the government, which has nationalized more than half of the nation's means of production. This month, one of the nation's biggest plants. Fabritex, a government-owned textile manufacturer, closed, leaving 1,100 peo-ple out of work. A plastics firm and a fishing concern, both government-owned, also closed this

Threats and Curbs

month

Some experts blame the closings on lack of government expertise in managing the economy, others on conditions that the Sandinistas inherited from Gen. Somoza.

The private sector believes that the heart of the problem is the Sandinistas' threats of expropriations and curbs on private enterprise — and the resulting flight of investment capital abroad.

The junta, which acts as Nicara gua's executive, originally included Alfonso Robelo, a respected member of the private sector and head of his own party, the middle-of-the-road Nicaraguan Democratic Movement. Mr. Robelo quit after nine months, convinced that the Sandinista front was not following the aims of the 1979 revolution.

Late last month, Mr. Robelo. 42 joined the opposition parties in returning to the Council of State in the hope that small parties may have a say in creating a new law on political parties that is to be dis-cussed in January.

Primary Goals

"Now we have one party, the FSLN [Sandinista front], which has an army of its own, its own police — because the police is the party police — full control of television, and can order the junta what to do," Mr. Robelo said in an interview. "That's why we could not stay. The frente's primary goals are the military consolida tion of the party in power and the indoctrination of the Nicaraguan people in their ideology."

The Sandmista front speaks of

elections in 1985, but foreign ob-servers in Nicaragua doubt that the Sandinistas will allow elections of the sort that could turn them out of power. The stated aims of the revolutionary government in the summer of 1979 were a multiparty system, a mixed economy and free elections.

The nine-man directorate of the Sandinista front is now the most powerful body in the country, and all nine members have expressed Marxist-Leninist views. Under its influence, the economy grows closer daily to full government control,

economics experts say.
"I feet the country is in danger."
Mr. Robelo said. "The revolution
also belongs to people like myself. who are not Marxist-Leninists The economy is going down the drain very fast, and repression comes more and more. We don't bave much time."

Allgemein is Blief Fack, Josephin Fest, Johann Georg Reißmüller _{dende} Runde Gereipte Almay Fix Der Bonner Fix iguigsprogramm schwere Zeiten berg, Sen in dieser Weche Cher Sen in dieser werne iber der rang und Beschäft Sungan. Kabinett noch einne ibe Zadista Kabinettsheratungen production Aneste inverdadere in verbeige Matthéfers neamt jetzt Einstein in verbeige Matthéfers neamt jetzt Einstein in verbeige in verbeige des eines statischen Mark zwar somie Steuer zu zusteinsahnen aufgrund der Schoon zusteinsahnen aufgrund der Schoon zusteinsche Mark zwar konnte ihrer die ausst eines weitgehend zin aussteil werden, doch zich es im seinstein der Reuserts weitgehend Zinassteil werden, doch zich es im seinstein mehr offene Stellen. Markter rechnet offensichtlich nut eines wehnungspolitischen Initiativen, im Ein des Innennuntsiere muß noch je des wehnungspolitischen Leitenberasitze für des Innennuntsiere muß noch je des wehnungspolitischen Leitenberasitze für des Innennuntsiere muß noch je des wehnen auf der Ausgabensätze für des Deckung des Persenberasitzen konnte kenn Einsteinen über die Deckung des Persenberasitzen der Deckung des Persenberasitzen der Teileinigting der sein mit der Teileinigting der sein mit der Teileinigting der seinen mit verhoufigen Ausgaben von gewehung Seite 2.1 Mark befassen. Kabinett noon einmel in kommt, let vollig offer ber Pußvolk in den Frakken beiten dazu stellen wird be: Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung is the leading national Burder finanzatinister Teles Wochersender von Schrieberge Milliarden EL.; für 100: Ze. daily and business newspaper-Millianten de la company de la Miliarden Lot 21 version read all over Germany Milharen Der Zie vergen; sternen; vor ziem aber ich ob es daneben ein molden; and in 144 countries Smithburger Berth Ma around the world. finanziert worden sell Die Fruch Demokrate & According to an opinion poll Die Frank Commence & angebileb for erlechtes angenum ort encounter, auf enten Erum Erum Erum Erkomme e als größeren Anlarodungs carried out amongst 1258 senior als grovers amountained businessmen in North America, von den Gewerkertaften ster den — Zikkerimmen Dag le Europe and the Far East by Kabinert vielleicht noch Rachdrücklicher Widerslad the British Urban Publishing isige und kriminell Company, F.A.Z. is judged an invelische Kritik p | m inter Araber verhaltet werden | Als am 31. August 1806 | M. Sandam - er war in vergansenen | Ger Abkommen unterstelle | Alland en Jahr walle | Alland en Jahr william unterstelle | Monches in den Gerelle | Wellender vollender | Gerelle | Ger Abkommen unterstelle | Alland en Jahr werden | Wellender | Wellender | Wellender vollender | Monches in den Gerelle | Wellender | Wellender | Monches in den Gerelle | Wellender | Monches in den Gerelle | Wellender | Wellender | Monches in den Gerelle | Wellender | Monches in den Gerelle | Wellender | Monches in den Gerelle | Wellender | Wellender | Wellender | Monches in den Gerelle | Wellender | Worden als damals ersette | Worden ersette €in; the world's most reliable non-English language Als am 31. Augus 1386 newspaper. *L.A.T. 1981 Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung P. O. Box 2901, D-6000 Frankfurt am Main

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Cambodia Issue Dominates Region

(Continued from Page 1) reached a stalemate, the officials said, with neither side able to de-

Now the Khmer Rouge are vow-ing to significantly raise the level of fighting. Specifically, diplomats said, the guerrilla army under the deposed Cambodian premier, Pol Pot, has indicated plans to begin large-scale operations in western

and northwestern Cambodia. Based on reports of Vietnamese movements, diplomats expect Hanoi's army to intensify opera-tions in northwestern and central sections of the Thai-Cambodian border and to secure the important Route 6 in the north-central part of the country.

Further complicating the situa-tion is the replacement earlier this month of Pen Sovann as head of the Phnom Penh government's rul-ing Communist Party, ostensibly for health reasons. President Heng Samrin assumed the key post sur-prising many diplomats who con-sidered Pen Sovann to hold the

nce then, Mr. Pen Sovann's fate has remained unknown. The most current theory among diplo-mats is that the Vietnamese have got rid of their erstwhile protégé because he was showing signs of independence and encouraging closer direct ties with Muscow. Western relief officials in Phnom Penh have noticed signs of

Vietnamese suspicions that the So-

هكنامنالأصل

viet Union has been trying to bypass Hanoi and develop an independent relationship with the Cambodian government. Although Moscow essentially bankrolls the Vietnamese war effort in Cambo-dia, Hanoi jealously guards its control of the Phnom Penh govern-

If the theory of Mr. Pen Sovann's demise is true, it would indicate an even more uncompromis-ing stance by Vietnam on negotiating an end to its occupation. their own problems in Afghanistan and Poland, economic difficulties at home and the heavy burden of aid to Vietnam, the Soviet Union is seen as more amenable to a com-promise in Cambodia.

However, anti-Vietnamese resistance groups show no sign of getting together in a way that would make Hanoi consider such a compromise. ASEAN's aim is to

Lawyers Expect Ecevit

To Be Freed in January ANKARA - Former Premier Bulent Ecevit will probably be freed from prison on Jan. 20, ac-

cording to his lawyers.
The Social Democrat, who was premier three times in the 1970s, went to prison on Dec. 3 after the Ankara martial-law tribunal convicted him of violating the military government's ban on public state-ments by former political leaders. forge a coalition of the groups, thereby diluting the role of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia's UNrecognized government. But the Khmer Ronge and a

prospective coalition partner, the anti-Communist Khmer People's National Liberation Front, led by Son Sann, a former premier under Prince Norodom Sihanouk, have been publicly denouncing each other in increasingly strident terms lately despite an agreement in September to refrain from such criti-

The Khmer Rouge, backed by China, appear to have been laying the groundwork to reject ASEAN proposals for a loose coalition government to include the Khmer Rouge, Mr. Son Sann's Front and a faction led by the former Cam-bodian head of state, Prince

Having banked heavily on such coalition to make the deposed Khmer Rouge government more internationally presentable, ASEAN now faces a potentially serious diplomatic setback if ex-pected Khmer Rouge counterpro-

posals prove unacceptance.

Accordingly, ASEAN members are trying to persuade Peking to pressure the Khmer Rouge into according cepting the coalition proposals, which have already been endorsed by the two non-Communist par-

As the issue unfolds, Washington has been left mainly on the

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Afghanistan's Tribal Tradition Makes Unity Elusive for Either Side in Conflict In Paktia province, a mountainous area, the duties without apparent commands. Some duties without apparent commands.

ember, in a desert hamlet just across the bor-ler in Pakistan, Habibullah Karzai, a cleanhaven man who once represented Afghani-tan at the United Nations, explained how the ighting in his country had turned him and al-most every other Afghan back into tribal peo-

ple.
"Afghanistan is now governed by one basic law, the law of the jungle," said the man who now serves as liaison between the fighters of his Popolzai tribe and the outside world, "The people need something to grab onto, and in a land where 95 percent of the people are illiterate there is only one thing they have — the

ancient laws of their tribes."

"As for the political parties based in Peshawar, they have no authority, no tradition, no laws," Mr. Karzni said. "They have only been around for a few years. The tribes have existed for centuries."

One of the undercurrents of the fighting is a fundamental conflict between the political groups that are seeking to extend their authori-

groups.

And while it is the political parties with their spokesmen in Peshawar and their links to arms suppliers that have learned to promote their interests in the world press, most of the fighting groups inside Afghanistan are organized like most of Afghan life itself — along tribal

and feudal lines.
In Kandahar province, the strong imprint of tribal organization is evident in the landscape. Single-story, domed huts stretch out in a confused welter covering several scores of

These settlements include many villages, and every one of the inhabitants knows where the boundaries are that separate clan from clan and where the influence of one tribal chief or Moslem preacher gives way to that of others. All are familiar with the history of their tribe and its customs, and powers of govern-ment in the sense of a nation-state have always been flimsy and distant

The people there make it clear that even before "the Communists" came they had little love of the central administration in Kabul, which they said merely tried to collect taxes or recruit troops or send bureaucrats who demanded

In the mountain hamlets, except for the weapons, the portable radios and the occasion-al helicopters overhead, it often appears that the tribal people have easily accommodated themselves to a return to the Bronze Age.

In Kandahar, the groups of mujahidin, or Islamic warriors, always come from the same tribe and in most cases are led by a chief who nherited the title. Often he is also the largest landlord in the area. In Paktia, almost all the fighting bands were led by mullahs, the priests or righteous men of Islam, but even in these cases tribal elders had key roles.

For three days in November, this reporter lived with 25 guerrillas in a mountain encampment near Naka, a small village. The men, who had lived together for the previous two years baked bread every day. Others brought water from a well, chopped wood or tended the ani-mals — a horse, two mules and a camel. Members of one group took turns manning the anti-

aircraft gun.
Five times a day, Mavleve Abdul Chargor cupped his hands and called the men to pray-er. He was the mullah and the commander and seemed to be in authority. Yet, a few weeks earlier, when he had ordered a man and woman stoned to death for adultery, the order was countermanded. The local chief with authority over the couple, who were from the Manga clan, ordered that they be shot instead. Tribal law, the code of behavior known as pushtanwali, had superseded Koranic precepts.

Under this system the requirement to extend hospitality to the traveler or fugitive is balanced by another obligation to avenge insults to the blood with blood. One afternoon, a group traveling along a mountain ridge found it necessary to stop while gunfire was exchanged between two clans in a valley below. The shooting lasted two hours and ended only

erations, and a number of Afghans say that badal, as the requirement of vendetta is called, will oblige tribesmen to avenge themselves on the Russians for the deaths of relatives.

There are some Westernized Afghans who feel and hope that out of the dislocation and turmoil some truly national leader might emerge, but this has not yet happened, and the tenacious hold of tribal identities makes it

seem unlikely.

But if Afghan tribalism impedes the formation of any unified command, it also must frustrate the Russians and their Afghan fol-

"I don't see how the Communists can ever rule Afghanistan," said the urbane Mr. Karzai.
"For one thing, they have the support of only 5 percent of the people, and those people are all in the cities, cut off from the tribes. Second. no political system can work without an underculture to develop, and the only way to speed up the process is for the Russians to do what the Khmer Rouge did in Kampuchea [Cambo-dia] or what Stalin did in the Moslem areas of the Soviet Union." he went on. "They must change the existing culture first to create a new culture, and that means either genocide or driving the population out of the country."

Protests on Anniversary

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan (UPI) — Afghan residents and refugees in five Pakistani cities and in New Delhi staged anti-Soviet protests on Sunday, the second anniversary of the Soviet-supported coup in Afghanistan.

In Peshawar, a Pakistani city 20 miles (32 kilometers) from the border with Afghanistan where many of the refugees from the conflict live, nearly 12,000 Afghans cheered protest leaders who burned Soviet flags and effigies of Soviet President Leonid I. Brezhnev. Demonstrations were also held in Quetta, Karachi, Lahore and Islamabad.

China May Use Mineral Revenues To Modernize Army, Study Finds

By Drew Middleton

New York Times Service NEW YORK - China may have found a solution to its most pressing military problem: how to modemize its army on limited financial

resources. The solution, according to a recent study, may be the production and sale of strategic minerals to the United States and other memthe United States and Oliver Inches of the Atlantic alliance to provide the money required to begin in earnest the modernization pro-

gram the army needs.

Among the conclusions in the study by Douglas T. Stuart and William T. Tow of the University of Southern California is that the United States and China will continue to expand arms trade in the medium term but that "actual weapons purchases will probably

be infrequent and of limited finan-cial or military importance."

A similar conclusion has been reached by U.S. and West European analysts. European govern-ments are disappointed by the fail-ure of the Chinese so far to make extensive purchases of arms. The pattern in Britain, France and Belginm has been one of extensive consultation between Chinese missions but limited purchases of weapons systems that will serve as models for reproduction in China.

'Comparison Shopping'

Mr. Stuart and Mr. Tow regard these tentative approaches as a variation on the traditional Chinese strategy of "making barbarians fight barbarians." But they point out that, until the Chinese have found the money, they are likely to continue what a British analyst called "comparison shop-ping" in the arms field.

army are astronomical. U.S. government studies estimate that the provision of what is called "a confident capability" for defense against Soviet attack would cost \$41 billion to \$63 billion.

According to the study, China may be an alternative supplier of

Peking Praises Mao in Article On His Birthday

PEKING — China marked the 88th anniversary of Mao's birth with an article praising him for his tolerance and broad intellect.

Deputy Premier Bo Yibo, one of thousands of senior officials purged by Mao during the Cultural Revolution, wrote that Mao was a dedicated revolu-tionary with an encyclopedic knowledge of classical Chinese

The generally positive article, published Saturday in the party newspaper People's Daily, was in strong contrast to published

attacks on Mao last summer. Mr. Bo praised Mao for believing that "there is no need to fear differing opinions or de-bate." He did not refer to the discredited Cultural Revolution, which Mao launched in 1966, but did criticize Mao for launching the disastrous "Great Leap Forward" and for forcing sants to form communes in peasa 1958.

The costs of modernizing the strategic metals such as titanium, my are astronomical U.S. govment studies estimate that the essential in the production of advanced aircraft. A high percentage of these metals come to the United States from southern Africa and other regions where political insta-

bility is common.

Last year, Peking formed the
China National Metallurgical Import and Export Corp. to market these minerals. Success came rapidly. The study reports that in the first half of 1981 the corporation signed contracts for the export of nonferrous and rare metals total-ing more than \$290 million, an increase of 150 percent over the same period in 1980. The expectation is that these exports will pass the \$1 billion mark in 1982.

The money is unlikely to be devoted solely to military purchases. Government analysts in the United States and abroad, as well as the authors of the study, point out that, although China has been moving ponderously toward weapons modernization, constraints on that movement exist within the

Military expenditure has been reduced despite the government's concern about what it considers the Soviet threat and the recognition that, in the brief war with Vietnam in 1979, China demonstrated startling deficiencies in the air force, command and control systems and combat support.

Mr. Stuart and Mr. Tow said military expenditures have fallen from 17.5 percent of the Chinese budget in 1979 to 15.6 percent in 1981. This reduction has been part of a general retrenchment in industry, agriculture and transportation. Moreover, the modernization

program espoused by Deng Xiaoping has been opposed by sections of the Communist Party and the military that adhere to the philoso-phy that any invader will "drown in the human sea" of China's army modernizers are "not yet in firm control within the military" and

that many in the army resent the treatment given it by the present political leadership.

Mr. Smart and Mr. Tow say the
Reagan administration "will continue to move further and faster

toward a policy of arming China against Russia." The Russians, they emphasize, since have a centuries-old fear of China. dren. The improvement in U.S.-Chinese relations and the prospect of extensive U.S. sales of weapons to China have already exacerbated

that fear, according to experts on Soviet military behavior. The Chinese, for their part, are single-minded about their pro-gram. They know they need mod-ern weapons to be able to deter in East Asia, starting with Vict-

Robert O. Muller, one of the delegation of four U.S. veterans who went back to Vietnam for six days at Hanoi's invitation, is greeted by his wife, Virginia, on his return to the United States.

ressing for recognition from the

U.S. government that contact with the Agent Orange has caused some

servicemen physical damage and led to deformities in their children.

Hanoi Airs Report on Child Deformities The Vietnamese news media The veterans' organization is

BANGKOK - Two days after a group of U.S. veterans left Viet-nam after seeking information on missing servicemen and the defoliaut Agent Orange, Radio Hanoi broadcast an account of deformed children in an area sprayed with defoliants northwest of Ho Chi Minh City.
The broadcast, monitored in

The study concludes that the nalists who said they encountered three deformed children born in areas defoliated by U.S. forces in the early 1960s about 25 miles (40 kilometers) from the provincial capital of Tay Ninh, near the Cambodian border.

The radio quoted reports of two women who said they had borne several normal children before settling in the sprayed areas, but have since given birth to deformed chil-

It also quoted the director of a provincial hospital who tentatively concluded that there were three times as many congenital deformi-ties in a village subjected to chemical spray as there were in a village not subjected to defoliants.

Four members of the Vietnam Veterans of America arrived back any Soviet adventures. Western ter a six-day visit to Vietnam duranalysts, while accepting this as the basic Chinese view, also point out that the army and the political leadership have old soons to activities. leadership have old scores to settle scientists and doctors to do research with Vietnamese experts in

Chinese Party Backs Ideology in Industry

Party's policy-making Central Committee has declared, in a major reversal, that the Maoist principle of putting "politics in command" of industry was correct. The declaration brings into the open a fight within the leadership page China's dependent protection. over China's development strategy.
In a clear attack on Premier
Zhao Ziyang, an advocate of modern, pragmatic management and increasing use of economic incentives, the Central Committee said Friday that ideological and political motivation should again be stressed and the current "laxness in ideological and political work"

The Central Committee held up as a model the Daging oil field in northeast China. Daging, which Mao made a model for Chinese industry in 1964 because of its reliance on its workers' mass enthusi-asm, had not been mentioned positively in more than two years, and the revival of the slogan "in indus-try learn from Daqing" has great

political meaning here. Hua Guofeng while premier and party chairman in 1977, planned a national industrial conference on "learning from Daq-ing." When he was removed as premier in September, 1980, and Mr. Zhao was installed, the plans were junked and the whole strate-

Los Angeles Times Service

PEKING. — The Communist movement to learn from Daqing was good," according to the Chi-

The order said the party "should give priority to ideological, politi-cal work." Special attention should be paid so that workers subordi-nate their interests to those of the state and put long-term interests ahead of immediate gains, a committee circular reportedly said.

The news agency gave few rea-sons for the order, nor did it say whether a long-expected meeting of the party leadership to discuss economic and ideological questions had begun.

The official press had not reported any move to revive the Dacing slogan and its philosophy, and it continued on Friday to emphasize the 10 basic principles that Mr. Zhao had proposed only three weeks ago for China's future development, based on economic incompany. tives, not ideology.

In 1980 the Daqing oil field had described as "leftist errors" its past reliance on mass enthusiasm rather than careful scientific planning, on political rallies rather than systematic problem-solving discussions, on "sea of people" and "swarm of bees" tactics rather than step-by-

From the news agency report, it was unclear whether Friday's Cengy criticized as leftist and unwork-able. This criticism was repeated aimed at speeding industrial devel-last June when Mr. Hua was re-opment, which has slowed in the But the Central Committee said and labor discipline of workers.

these other assertions were made: • Despite the factional divisions, the resistance is becoming more effective.

ing the Afghan government. • There is evidence that the Soviet forces have used chemical war-

from caves.

Department experts interviewed last week. They agreed that Soviet forces numbered 90,000, having

U.S. Analysis Depicts Afghan War Deadlock

By Irvin Molotsky

New York Times Service
WASHINGTON — A State Department analysis made public to mark the second anniversary of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan depicts a deadlock in which both insurgents and the Soviet-backed government are weakened by internal divisions.

On the one side, the ruling People's Democratic Party is reported to be divided between two fac-tions. On the rebel side, the State Department says, "The resistance movement as a whole remains fragmented," and "liberation forces occasionally fight each other to establish territorial pre-emi-

The report, "Afghanistan: Two Years of Occupation," was compiled by the department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. A senior official discussed it last week and it was released for publication Saturday. It will be made available to the public on Monday. In the report and in the briefing,

• The State Department has no evidence of Communist countries other than the Soviet Union help-

fare, including irritants, incapaci-tants and lethal agents such as nerve gas, in trying to flush rebels

In many but not all respects, the State Department conclusions were similar to those of Defense

been recently increased from 85,000. (A senior Asian diplomat in Kabul recently reported a figure of 110,000.)

However, while the military analysts said they expected a further increase, the State Department was silent on that point and, at the briefing, the official suggested just the opposite when he said he did not know why the Soviet Union

had not sent in more troops.

The two analyses also differed on estimates of Soviet casualties. The military analysts put them at 5,000 killed and 5,000 wounded, while the State Department offi-cial put the combined figure of killed and wounded at 5,000, adding that none of the figures was authoritative.

When asked about the size of the rebel forces, the official said it was about the same as that of the Soviet force, 90,000, if part-time guerrillas were included.

The State Department analysis puts the size of Afghan government forces at "about 30,000 out of a normal strength of about 100,000."

Although much of the report ap-pears to have been compiled from intelligence analyses, some of it also came from an unidentified defector and some of it from articles by iournalists.

"While 90 percent may be an exaggeration, the erosion of government authority has been corroborated by foreign journalists who traveled with the mujahidin in the spring and summer of 1981," the report said. They describe being able to move freely, even in the daytime, in areas where a year earlier the presence of government security forces had necessitated extreme caution."

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The International Herald Tribune invites you to

have not referred to the veterans'

visit, except initially to say that one of the Americans' purposes was "to denounce" U.S. use of the

defoliant during the Vietnam War.

-MEET THE NEW— FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

February 8 and 9, 1982 in Paris

The election of François Mitterrand and the subsequent Socialist victory in the French parliamentary elections clearly mark an important turning point for the French economy.

With the cooperation of the new Socialist government, the International Herald Tribune has organized a conference designed to help senior executives of foreign companies judge how the new administration's policies will affect their company's activities and investment in France.

Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy will open this meeting on "New French Economic Policies," to be held February 8 and 9 at the Intercontinental Hotel in Paris.

The program will include presentations by Jacques Delors, Finance Minister; Michel Jobert, Minister of Foreign Trade; Michel Rocard, Minister of Planning and Regional Development; Nicole Questiaux, Minister of Social Policy; Pierre Dreyfus, Minister of Industry; André Chandernagor, Minister delegated to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in charge of European Affairs; and Laurent Fabius, Minister delegated to the Finance Minister, in charge of the Budget, as well as Jacques Attali, Special Counsellor to the President: Bernard Attali, President of D.A.T.A.R., the French government's regional development agency; Christian Goux, Chairman of the Economic and Finance Committee of the National Assembly, and other senior government officials.

Additional insights on various aspects of doing business in France will be provided by André Bergeron, Secretary General of the "Force Ouvrière" trade union, by a panel of French and foreign bankers and by a panel of industrialists. The latter will include: Rodolph Boniface, Chairman of Ford France; Jean Gandois, Chairman of Rhône-Poulenc; Jean-Luc Lagardère, Chairman of Matra; Bernard Lathière, President of Airbus Industries, and Yves Ragougneau, President of Sony France.

Each presentation will be followed by a question and answer period, and simultaneous French-English translation will be provided at all times. To register for this exceptional international conference,

please complete and return the registration form below today.

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On Faith and Freedom

Faith and freedom, as President Reagan aptly put it, are the twin beacons that brighten the American sky in the Christmas season. Faith in the power of love to conquer cruelty: freedom to pursue the potential of every person and community. It was altogether fitting for Reagan to join his Christmas prayer to a solemn warning that Americans would, without violence, punish the foes of freedom who desecrate this holiday.

First of all in Poland. The president's warnings to Warsaw and Moscow were timely and measured. They offered a choice: East-West collaboration in rebuilding Polish society, or painful sanctions against the strained economies of the entire Soviet bloc. This is intervention, but not to implant America's preference in social systems. It is intervention in defense of civilized values that Communists profess to share — the most basic rights of dissent and conscience.

In rebelling against a failed system, the Polish people do not threaten the Warsaw Pact. They demand only workers' rights in a workers' state. If that somehow threatens Soviet ideology, the remedy lies in Soviet reforms and not in the export of martial terror. Barbarity, like freedom, is contagious. The defeat of Stalinism is the business of every modern state.

Believing that there may yet be a path out of the Polish darkness, Reagan has so far im-

posed only the mildest sanctions. Yet he was firm in warning of costlier actions if Warsaw and Moscow persist in their war against the Polish people. To enjoy — indeed, depend - constructive relations with other peoples, the Communist governments simply have to learn to deal humanely with movements like Solidarity.

In this of all seasons, we recognize that the ideals of freedom are only imperfectly realized on Earth. A mere nine years ago. Americans were ruthlessly bombing North Vietnam. One evil, however, does not validate another. To stop judging others would be to let all values disappear.

So not only Poland, Mr. President: There were, alas, not enough White House windows in which to light candles for all the world's oppressed this Christmas.

As in Poland, governments are at war with their own people in Guatemala, El Salvador and Afghanistan. In Indonesia, the people of East Timor are still being destroyed with genocidal fury. In South Africa and Iran, protest against appalling suppression and racism is cruelly crushed.

These brutalities, too, are defended as ideologically imperative, but all offend faith and freedom. Their perpetrators, too, deserve notice that such crimes against humanity "will cost them dearly.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

White House Omissions

An administration's view of itself is always at least modestly interesting for its choices of emphasis and its ringing omissions. Mr. Reagan's White House has just published an assessment of its first year's work. It is interesting to speculate whether the sequel, a year from now, will not perhaps reflect an administration that, under the pressure of external events and a disappointing economy, has begun to give more prominence to foreign policy and less to tax legislation. But the present review, like the White House itself from the beginning of the year, gives absolute priority to economic reform.

As you would expect, the main focus remains on the great campaigns to lower both taxes and spending. But this review does not get into the painful truth that the reduction of taxes has gone very much farther and faster than the reduction of spending. The term "deficit" seems to have dropped out of the vocabulary altogether. Perhaps the White House feels that the word has been worn out by overuse and deserves to be retired. This report provides large graphs to show even the most casual reader the speed at which inflation and the interest rates are dropping. It offers no clue as to the direction in which the deficit, if any, might be heading.

administration justry its defense of free trade, and observes that it courageously terminated the import quotas on shoes. Good for the administration — and lucky for the shoemakers that Toyota and Datsun don't make shoes. Many people in the United States feel, rightly or wrongly, that the automobile industry provides a more important test of trade policy. It would be

churlish, and a violation of the holiday spirit, to take up here the import quotas on Japanese cars and the way in which they were imposed last spring.

This self-appraisal by the White House

also notes the country's continuing progress toward cleaner air. Ungenerously, it fails to add that this continuing progress is largely owed to Sen. Robert T. Stafford, Republican chairman of the environment committee, and his refusal to entertain the administration's draft amendments to the Clear Air Act.

On foreign policy, the only purpose of this document is to reiterate the Reagan administration's basic intention of establishing itself as a firm and consistent ally to its friends, capable of resisting Soviet encroachments. There is no discussion of the two major concerns of recent months - the friction between the United States and Israel, and the Soviet pressure on Poland.

Under the heading "Relations with the Soviet Union," this document suggests that Mr. Reagan's defense budget has transformed the international atmosphere and "provided a good setting for serious and equitable negotiations with the U.S.S.R. and the Eastern bloc on outstanding disagreements." Let us hope so, but you would have trouble proving it by

The newspapers, in their lighthearted way, have been calling this amiable document a report card. Any student will recognize the misnomer. It is, in fact, what is known as a self-graded take-home quiz. The final exam comes later, and not even a president is allowed to set his own grade.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

The Freedom to Travel

The State Department was at its stuffy worst in explaining why it has barred a speaking tour by the Rev. Ian Paisley, the Protestant hard-liner from Northern Ireland. It said his presence would be "prejudicial to U.S. public interests." What is truly prejudicial is the department's nanny-knows-best attitude about whom Americans may hear.

Of course Paisley expresses views that affront many Americans. But that is not the real reason why his visa was revoked. Earlier this year, bowing to pressure from different quarters, State refused entry to Owen Carron, an outspoken defender of the Irish Republican Army. Like Paisley, he holds a seat in the British Parliament.

By denying entry to Carron, the department invited an uproar when the Paisley visit was announced. After 130 members of Congress protested the double standard, the administration backed down, permitting Rep. Mario Biaggi to claim a victory for the Irish

caucus that he aims to lead. It is a dubious victory. Nobody wins when debaters are silenced and Americans are de-

nied a firsthand chance to judge the arguments. Better to lower the gate, even to the most divisive of speakers, than to give one group of Americans the power to censor what another may hear. Carron was ostensibly excluded because he might make excuses for IRA violence, but Bernadette Devlin McAliskey toured America not long ago doing just that.

Carron and Paisley are not the first controversial figures the administration has kept from U.S. audiences. Earlier this year a Soviet official was prevented from taking part in a public television debate. Then Cuban officials were barred from speaking at reputable forums in New York and Washington.

These exclusions offend the spirit of the 1975 Helsinki Accords, signed by both the United States and the Soviet Union, to promote freer movement of people and ideas. The next time President Reagan taunts Moscow about the Soviet Union's closed frontiers, he risks the retort that America, too, has its travel blacklist.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Opinion

Peking on the Saudi Arabian Plan

It appears that a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East question depends largely on the determined efforts of the Arab countries to work out a united strat-

egy and a united plan on the basis of the Saudi Arabian proposal. [The United States would] surely have the means to force Israel to accept the reasonable demands of the Arab nations.

From Xinhua News Agency (Peking).

Dec. 28: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

1906: Japan Turns Conciliatory

ST. PETERSBURG - M. Motono, the Japanese minister, during his conference with M. Izvolsky suddenly showed himself very conciliatory. The sudden volte-face is explained by the fact that Japan fears to have to submit her impossible pretensions to an international arbitration court.
The emptiness of the Japanese Treasury makes a loan necessary, which is foreseen for April. The change of attitude on the part of Japan does not. however, inspire much confidence, for Russia has not forgotten how she attacked Port Arthur without a declaration of war and in spite of pacific assurances. M. Motono will leave very shortly for Paris, which will do much to calm public opinion.

1931: U.S. Maneuvers in Pacific

WASHINGTON - The entire strength of the United States Navy and a portion of the Army will be mustered in the Pacific in February and March to carry out two of the greatest naval maneuvers ever planned. The first will entail a raid on the Hawaiian Islands, and the second a gigantic attempt to gain a foothold on the Pacific coast. The latter will include every ship in the Navy and will involve the use of transports that will try to land armed forces under protection of a battle fleet. The maneuvers will coincide with the general disarmament conference at Geneva, and there is a possibility that the first maneuver, held fairly close to Japanese waters, may bring some comment from Tokyo.

Abiding by Our Symbols

DARIS — This is the season of symbols. The I star of Bethlehem and the chant of peace and good will to men are ancient symbols still full of life because the age-old aspirations remain

beyond our grasp.

The message of joy, of renewal, is a personal one to each of us. It is not my purpose to discuss it, because we each know best what special blessings have come to gladden our anxious hearts.

But symbols are public matters, too, of the greatest importance. They reflect the magnetic force that binds us, weak and bewildered, into societies. Sad to say, they also serve to signify our divisions and hostilities.

The revered symbols of three religions stand together in Jerusalem, a city of ocher hills, rosy stone and dusty olive. It is not yet a city of peace,

and the prospects are not in sight.

So it is all the more disturbing that at a time of great tensions, Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin has chosen a different kind of symbol to assert his country's will to exist. The annexation of the Golan Heights is a gesture, an act of political defiance, since it does not change lines of force in the Middle East or resolve any issue.

Syria was not about to consider peace on any terms. Israel's action adds fire to the arguments of those who oppose thought of negotiation, but it does not change the current situation.

With his sense of drama and history, Begin knew he would provoke a sputter of fury, and he was ready to heat the pitch of indignation with his own outlandish retorts. But he underestimated the symbolism involved. It is nothing less than Israel's search for the security of peace. That, not a strip of strategic territory, is the commitment given by Israel's supporters. Not necessarily Begin but Israel itself will lose the sympathetic understanding it desperately needs if the goal of peace, however distant it seems, has been made secondary to the claim to conquered soil.

There is, for now, no practical proposal to move the Middle East conflict beyond the state of impasse. But who could have foreseen, even a few weeks beforehand, the startling symbolic gesture of Anwar Sadat offering a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in search of peace for his own unhappy land? Begin deserves some credit for the partial success of that initiative, but also some blame for the failure to complete it with progress on

Palestinian autonomy.

If he had had the imagination to take even the first steps toward granting autonomy immediately, instead of waiting for bargaining, that would be a symbol that might have made the bleak outlook very different now.

Max Kohnstamm, a Dutchman who was a close aide to the late Jean Monnet and watched him combine leaps of imagination with potent symbolism and practical plans to transform Western Euism and practical plans to transform Western Eu-rope, has tried to apply that approach to the Mid-dle East. In a recent lecture honoring the "Father of Europe," he suggested another effort to find concert through talks on everyday problems— development, water, energy, food, the things peo-ple in the region have in common and with which they can help each other.

they can help each other.

It's a nice idea, but it isn't more likely to work now than before, for lack of a symbol compelling enough to overwhelm resentment and suspicion.

Western societies, with their tough reliance on functional success and material achievement, tend to overlook the importance of symbols, or rather to separate them into an isolated category of ideals not directly related to the hard facts of international life. The rash of peace movements in Europe, I suspect, owes something to the perception that this separation is false. The symbols are a part of human reality, and they must be served with both words and deeds.

It is distressing to read a Evench Socialist Mi-

It is distressing to read a French Socialist, Mi-chel de la Fournière, who is his party's national secretary for human rights, pleading eloquently for suppressed Poles, denouncing the military coup, and yet saying the following as a matter of course: "No French Socialist ignores the reality of the two imperialisms that split up the world, and the centuries-old drama that her geography imposes on Poland."

imposes on Poland."

This is not a neutralist speaking, and certainly not a Communist sympathizer. And yet he talks of "the two imperialisms" as equals, as though France in the West suffered constraints similar to

those of Poland in the East.

Many people speak this way, in Europe and elsewhere. It does reflect a double standard, but

The United States has long established itself as a worldwide symbol for freedom, human rights, respect for the individual. It is judged as much on its effort to fulfill its own symbolic status, in Latin America for example, as by comparison with the cynical Soviet superpower. The measure is much higher for America, and that should be a source of pride.

Embodying a symbol is a special responsibility in a frightened world, and a special privilege. This is a season for Americans, Israelis and all free people to acknowledge the duty of respect for what we symbolize by living as well as we can by our cherished standards in dealing with others.

61981, The New York Times.

The Special Relationship Persists

Throughout that period, we took

the American link with Britain for granted. Never were the two coun-

tries ruffled by the kind of friction that existed between the United

States and President de Gaulle's

France. For instance, we wel-

comed U.S. bases on our soil as

evidence of joint defense — al-though we developed an "inde-

The assumption now is that

these bonds are eroding. The proof

can be found in surveys that show,

among other things, that a majority of the British favor the with-

drawal from Britain of American

air bases which have been here since the days of World War II.

ever, the surveys tell a different

story. For a majority of the same

Examined more carefully, how-

pendent nuclear deterrent

salve our national pride.

By William Keegan

nity until 1973.

ONDON — Judging from U.S. L newspaper reports, opinion on the western side of the Atlantic seems to believe that the British are becoming increasingly anti-American. Meanwhile, British opinion seems to believe that Americans are becoming increasingly suspicious of Britain.

I think that it is wrong for Americans to leap to the conclusion that British hostility toward the United States has grown. In my view, sentiment here is still firmly pro-American. Perhaps it is closer to the truth to suggest that people here are disappointed less by America than by the Reagan administration, which has failed to gain widespread sympathy for at least a couple of reasons.

Rightly or wrongly, there is the widespread suspicion in Britain that President Reagan and his inctrcie, being not as committed to the Atlantic Alliance as was America's traditional East Coast foreign policy

British attitudes toward the United States vary according to generation. They are often unclear. My own generation, born just before World War II, did not have to be told that we had a "special relationship" with the United States — politically, economically and culturally. We were aware of

respondents say that they approve continued British membership in America's decisive contribution to victory, and we knew about the U.S. contribution to our postwar recovery. We grew up with Holly-wood films and chewing gum, and our disc jockeys still affect a so-NATO, which could not exist without the predominant American partner. My feeling is that opposition to

called "mid-Atlantic" accent heavthe bases, at which nuclear weapons are stationed, betrays a fear of ily American in tone. becoming involved in a strategic As our empire evaporated, we clung even more tenaciously to our conflict between the United States American cousins. Partly due to and the Soviet Union. our own inclinations and partly to This apprehension is strongest French suspicion, we did not join the European Economic Commu-

to

in the age group between 18 and 24, which has no memory of the World War II alliance. It is this generation which manifests its ap-parent anti-Americanism most vocally. But the fact that 75 percent of the population is still faithful to NATO indicates that the concerns about America may be transient and superficial. The polis tell me, therefore, that

the British have not turned antimood toward the United States. They are worried about the Reagan administration's handling of foreign affairs. And they are worried that they might be abandoned by the Americans. But Britain still regards its U.S. relationship as vital.

The writer, an editor of The Observer, contributed this comment to the International Writers Service.

A Few Points Reagan Might Want to Make As the West's Leader

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — President Reagan's Christmas mes-sage was inadequate to the stormy present. Just as Jimmy Carter left the national Christmas tree dark to protest against the seizure of hos-tages in Iran, so Ronald Reagan put a candle in the window to dis-play flickering American resolve at the rape of Poland.

Is the United States really that

helpless? Is a superpower reduced to candle power? On the assump-tion that the feeble American re-



sponse encourages the Russians to continue their invasion-by-proxy of Poland, here are some notes for a follow-up message. Having proved to world dovery his paience and restraint at Christmastime, President Reagan may want to assert his leaders p of the free world in the new year.

• To the people of Poland: We hear your protests and will amplify them throughout the world. Do not listen to the voices that tell you your choice is "between martial law and civil war." That propagan-da is written in Moscow; the truth is that the military junta has betrayed you.

 To the junta that has seized power: Since a military coup has taken place, the United States government will consider whether and when to recognize the new regime. So long as the junta requires the use of force to suppress significant resistance, the legitimacy of your government is in doubt.

We refuse to help underwrite the crushing of workers' rights. Accordingly, we will no longer post-pone collection of unpaid loans. If you wish to keep your credit, turn if they want to maintain their iron control they will have to pay for it. If default inhibits all East-West trade, so be it; the choice is yours.

• To the Soviet government: Your decision to order the arrest of the leaders of Poland's Solidarity movement is the most flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act. In signing that treaty, you promised to guarantee certain basic human rights; you interpreted

our signature as legitimization of the borders of Eastern Europe, in-

chuding Poland, long a primary ob-ject of Soviet foreign policy.

Some idealists maintain that no matter how often the Soviet Union violates its solemn obligations under that treaty, the very continu-ance of the pact offers a forum for protest. The continuance of Polish oppression forces me to disagree. We do not need a platform for complaints, we need a firm reaction to the violation of a treaty.

In addition to the embargoes of equipment and food to take place unless Soviet oppression in Poland ceases forthwith, I am calling a. conference of like-minded nations to discuss recision of our approval a of the Helsinki accord. If it is Soviet policy to continue to intervene in Poland, it will be U.S. policy to remove any cause you think you have to believe that that agreement has been reached about post-World War II borders.

• To the people of Western Europe: Can there any longer be any doubt, after the dimming of freedom's lights in Poland, about the source of the danger to every democracy in Europe? Our unified reaction cannot be "If it gets much worse, we will bring our pressure to bear "because inaction will help. it get worse and then our pressures will be too late. Our reaction must be: "We must respond now to the crackdown in Poland, and then relieve our pressure as the Russians lessen their own."

By their action in Poland, the Russians have put Western Europe on trial. If Europeans want to pursue business-as-usual or if Europeans want to declare their continent a no man's land in a contest between superpowers, then the United States will have to assess that new reality in plans for our own defense. We cannot defend a, Europe that will not defend herself. If appeasement's umbrella reappears, our nuclear umbrella will disappear.

A question that plagued the West in the first half of this century re-emerges: What about the German problem? Our ally, West Germany, is exhibiting an alarming toleration for Soviet repression. I hope this new weakness is a passing aberration, and will not encourage the U.S. Senate to pass a resolution calling for the phased

return of U.S. troops from Europe. In this regard, I have ordered a National Security Decision Directive to be drawn up for my review on the wisdom of maintaining the symbolic U.S. garrison in Berlin. Just as we do not presume to take West German cooperation for granted, we do not want an American trip-wire in Berlin unless it is properly valued.

• To the people of the United States: Let me add this word of hope as 1982 begins. Sometimes only a shock can awaken us to our blessings and our opportunities. The Soviet-ordered coup in Poland is such a shock, reminding us of the precious freedom we enjoy, underscoring the failures of a system that denies its citizens that freedom and awakening free people around the world to the opportunity of reinvigorating our alliances. I wish you peace in the new year, with the knowledge that true peace can come only with freedom

in its wings. ©1981, The New York Times.

Central America: A Challenge to the World's Democracies

By Max Singer

NEW YORK — In the late 1930s the democracies failed to understand how totalitarian aggression combined diplomacy. propaganda and military force. We understood Germany's just com-plaints and did not care about technical military factors. As a result many people died.

There are two processes at work in Central America and the Caribbean today. One process is the struggle against poverty and toward greater freedom and justice. This is primarly a heartrending cultural learning experience in each country. It is slowed by disagreement about goals and means, excess selfishness and other human weaknesses. Mistakes and serious setbacks seem to be inevitable, and

they produce much suffering. This first process has produced much progress in the last 20 years. Politically, a complicated accounting would show a net gain for democratic values. Economically, progress has increased life expectancy by more than 10 years, and aver-age real income by half. The Unit-ed States should help more, and more wisely, than it has, so that

this process would go a little faster. The other process is a series of efforts to expand the area of leftist totalitarian, anti-U.S. control. Cuba plays the leading role because of Castro's skills and prominence, the strength of Cuba's army and the capabilities of Cuba's in-

telligence service, the DGI.
The Soviet Union is influential with Cuba, providing 25 percent of its GNP and controlling Cuba's secret service since an agreement made in 1968, with many Russians working full-time at the DGI headquarters in Havana Other Communist governments

from outside the region, various Palestinian terrorist groups and others often work with Cuba and its local allies. Of course, each country and group makes its own decisions. Internal differences are a potential source of weakness, as in any coalition or organization. Despite substantial gains in the first process, the second process has become much more dangerous

in the last five years, and there is a

good chance that it will make addi-

tional gains in the next few years,

producing much suffering and loss

S. security. The principal current arenas are Nicaragua and El Salvador.

In Nicaragua, after a broad international coalition of democratic and Communist countries and local groups had combined to end

freedom, and even problems for Army will be overwhelmingly the powerful military force be-

tween Colombia and Mexico, and could be used subtly or directly to support totalitarian aggression, with its various claims of justice. In El Salvador a democratic army officer corps deposed the old

Duarte, to prepare for elections in March, 1982, and to implement land reform, nationalize the banks and the coffee and sugar export business, improve the school system, etc. The revolutionary army also removed the leadership of the feared Salvadoran security forces



the Somoza dictatorship in 1979, the Marxist-Leninist Sandinista Directorate, which had led the coa-lition against Somoza, began an rank of major. In 1980 it brought unreported political war against the democratic elements of that coin the main democratic opposition party on the left, the Christian alition. Thousands of people were Democrats under José Napoleón sent to Nicaragua by Communist countries to help the Sandinistas.

But the democracies gave virtually no help to the democratic Nicaraguans in their effort to defend themselves. There was almost no outside response when the San-dinistas renounced their written promise to the Organization of American States to hold elections promptly. The Sandinistas have almost won their subtle war against

their former partners.
Also in Nicaragua, the government has been working intensively for about 18 months to build a modern 50,000-man army and air force. If this buildup is successfully completed as expected in the coming months, the Nicaraguan army-landlord alliance in October, and started the process of cleaning up these organizations, a task it has largely, but by no means com-pletely, accomplished.

After the revolution in El Salva-1979, and threw out more than two-thirds of the officers above the

dor, Castro succeeded in getting the four small armed groups that

had been fighting the government there to form the FMLN, which now has a force of several thousand guerrillas fighting to throw out El Salvador's revolutionary government and prevent elections. If El Salvador's revolutionary government falls, there seems to be litenment faus, there seems to be nu-tle possibility of preventing either the repressive military regime in Guatemala or the freely elected ci-vilian government of Honduras-from being replaced by Marxist-I entiret regimes ellied to Cuba Leninist regimes allied to Cuba. Then drastic polarization is likely to be started in Mexico, which is nominally revolutionary but so-cially backward. Violent conflict in Mexico would be likely to have serious security implications for the

While the democracies cannot stop this process as easily as they could have stopped Hitler in 1936 or 1937, they can effectively use political action to organize support for democratic groups in Nicaragua and for the revolutionary government in El Salvador, and take relatively small, but intelligent; military measures.

Their great unused weapon is truth. If the democracies can achieve the political will and understanding to resist totalitarian aggression based on propaganda, diplomacy, terror and military force, the necessary means can be found. Without the understanding and the will, nothing can be done.

The writer, deputy director of the Hudson Institute, contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

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Shifts in World Trade Soften Global Impact of U.S. Slump

By Kenneth N. Gilpin New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Not too long ago, the thought of a kep recession in the United States might have sent hivers through industrial and developing countries

However, while America's international economic afluence remains vast—the United States generates oughly one-quarter of total global output—analysts ay that, unless the depth and duration of the current U.S. recession far exceeds the latest forecasts, its ingrnational damage is likely to be limited.

To be sure, there is some negative fallout from the second U.S. recession in as many years. Protectionism, for example, thrives in bad times.

With bittle or no growth forecast in major industrial economie next year, and unemployment riscarb trade further in labor-intensive industries such as steel, auto- pneumonia when mobiles and textiles are expected Countries with particularly im-

portant trading relationships with the United States - Canada and Japan, for example are likely to suffer. And global recovery, when it occurs, is not likely to be vigorous.

This recession will aggravate export growth and real growth in gross national product the world over, said Harold Van B. Cleveland, a vice president and international economist at Citibank. "However, the drop will not be as severe overseas as it is here." Various reasons are cited for the current reces-

sion's mitted international impact.
One is that trends in the United States no longer determine world economic patterns.

The international impact of recessions is generally transmitted abroad through falling exports and weaker import demand. Although the importance of America's trade sector to its own domestic economy has grown substantially over the past decade, and particularly since 1974, when the first oil-price shock occurred, its once-dominant position in the markets of developed and developing country markets has

"America's impact on the world economy began to erode in the mid-1960s," said Helen Junz, an interna-

tional economist at Townsend-Greenspan & Co. "As the European Economic Community began to mature, European economies started to grow rapidly and intra-European trade began to rise sharply. And the oil price shocks of 1974 and 1979 have caused trade patterns to diverge further."

The shift in trade patterns has been steady rather than swift. In 1964, the United States enjoyed a 24.5-percent share of industrial country exports. By 1980, that share had shrunk to 17.7 percent.

Although total world trade more than doubled be-tween 1974 and 1980, the United States also has a smaller piece of total global trade today than previously. According to figures from the International Monetary Fund, in 1964 U.S. exports represented 17.2 percent of the world's total. Last year, the figure was 11.8 per-

Paradoxically, while the inter-national significance of America's trading role has diminished, the importance of trade to the U.S. America catches a cold economy has increase

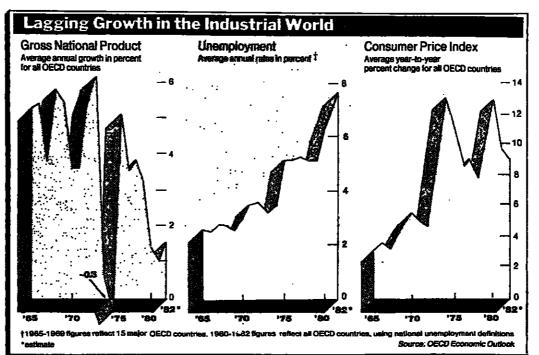
Recent Commerce Department figures show that in 1980 U.S. exports were responsible for 8.2 percent of gross national product, a doubling from 1970 levels. The increase among other major industrial countries has not been so rapid. With the exception of Japan, exports in other major industrial countries accounted for more than 10 percent of GNP 10 years ago, and constituted more than 15 percent of total output last

Goods imported by the United States have also doubled in the last decade, to 9.8 percent of gross national product. However, with the exception of Japan, other major economies have import dependencies of more than 20 percent, an increase of between 4 and 9 percentage points from 10 years ago.

Another reason for the American recession's rela-

tively minor international impact is that, with only one or two exceptions, conditions in many industrialized countries can not get much worse.

For the last two years, major industrial countries have been in a synchronized cyclical downtum, pursuing tight monetary and fiscal policies in an attempt to curb inflation generated by the latest rise in oil prices. The effort has indeed caused inflation rates to



fall, but sluggish growth, or none at all, and sharply

Generally, economists agree that European unem-ployment, which some see as a structural problem, is not likely to be aggravated by the U.S. recession. As a result, few expect major European countries such as West Germany and Britain to change their domestic policy emphasis in the wake of an economic contrac-

"The Europeans are pretty much resigned to the U.S. recession." Mrs. Junz said. "Many of these countries don't seem to think they need to impose policies to offset it."

In its most recent semiannual forecast, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development predicted a "moderate" economic upturn in the re-gion as a whole in 1982 in spite of negative growth in the United States. The organization cited renewed growth in personal income and consumption, a resumption of production and strong demand outside the OECD area as major forces making for re"Last year America only accounted for about 5.5 percent of European exports," said Roger Bird, director of the Wharton Econometric Forecasting Service. "If recovery there was going to occur, recession in the United States won't abort it."

Interest rates are also a factor. Although interest rate movements abroad have not fallen as rapidly as they have in the United States, recent declines in short-term and long-term rates will help mitigate some of the recession's adverse effect on trade.

Earlier this year, officials from developed and developing countries alike harshly criticized the monetary policies of the Reagan administration and the eral Reserve Board, saying the Fed's tough stance had forced interest rates abroad to unnaturally high levels, prolonging the downturn and aborting what some then viewed as a budding recovery.

As U.S. interest rates began to drop late last summer the complaints diminished, and then disap-

(Continued on Page 9, Col.1)

"The decline in interest rates will outweigh the eco-nomic effects of this recession," said Rimmer de

U.S. Steel Firms Grow Impatient on Imports

Bethlehem Steel Executive Warns Europeans That Time Is Running Out

By Frank,Swoboda and Peter Behr

Washington Post Service BETHLEHEM, Pa. — "The meter is running," said Bethlehem Steel Chairman Donald Trautlein, and so is the patience of the U.S. steel industry as it waits for the Reagan administration to stem shipments of low-priced steel from Western Europe into the United

Bethlehem, along with other U.S. steel companies, is prepared to bring action against West European steel producers under U.S. trade laws. Mr. Trautlein said last week, adding that he regards the issue to be open and shut. In most cases, the subsidies provided by West European governments to reduce the prices of steel exports are so large that very little of the steel can be sold here legally, he assert-

on European steel imports - an

and upset fundamental political ties between the United States and its European allies, according to the administration.

Mr. Trantlein's tough talk comes at a time when he sees the U.S. steel industry's level of production dropping in the first quarter of 1982 to at least 15 percent below the 1981 first quarter's level. As well, he said, unemployment in the industry already was nearly 25 percent and "obviously we don't see much in the first quarter."

Mr. Trantlein said he under-stands the administration's con-"We're Americans first. We're aware that steel trade isn't the administration's only problem." U.S. steel producers are likely to sit tight for awhile if the administration is making significant progress with the Europeans, he

But the low-cost steel imports But the unfair trade charges, if needed to pay for billions of dol-upheld, would lead to a virtual ban lars in essential modernization by U.S. producers, he added. "The action that could trigger severe re-taliation against U.S. exporters jeopardized by these imports."

Bethlehem is planning to spend about \$100 million next year out of a \$750 million, multi-year investment program to improve its

Mr. Trautlein conceded the U.S. steel industry was behind both the Japanese and the West Europeans in the amount of continuous casting operations in place. But he said U.S. steel makers were pushing to catch up.

Period of Refief Sought

In a similar argument to that made by the U.S. auto industry before the administration negotiated a "voluntary" agreement with the Japanese limiting car imports for two years, Mr. Trautlein says the port relief for a three-to-five year period to allow it to complete its modernization program.

The industry must now decide whether antidumping suits would help or hinder that goal, he said.

"The administration feels that a satisfactory resolution can be reached" without industry suits, Mr. Trautlein said, but the industry no longer may be willing to trust the kind of agreement the government is apt to come up

Previous administrations have won assurances from steel producing countries in Western Europe only to have the agreements broken, he said. Therefore, he added, "You have to look for something that gives you more than ver-

Industry leaders met last Mon-day with Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige to discuss the status of government negotiations with the Europeans. Mr. Trautlein would not reveal

details of those talks. However, in a separate interview. Mr. Baldrige said progress

was being made, though he gave no prediction of the outcome. U.S. steel executives do not fully European competitors this month when the Reagan administration itself brought dumping charges against foreign producers, Mr. Baldrige said. "We got their attention," he added.

To Our Readers

Most foreign-exchange markets were closed over the long Christ-mas holiday weekend. Currency quotations will resume in Tues-

OPEC's Task for '82: Stopping Prices From Slipping Even Lower

By Douglas Martin

New York Times Service NEW YORK - Although the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has promised to freeze crude oil prices until the end of 1982, oil industry analysts now question whether OPEC will in fact be able to prevent prices from

slipping.
The implication of this is that OPEC's power to increase or even to maintain world oil prices seems to be its weakest since the 1973 oil embargo by Arab countries, ac-cording to industy analysts, com-pany officials and government encrgy experts.

The question is particularly sig-nificant because OPEC's main success over the years has been in defending a constantly rising minimum price, despite the organization's failure to develop an overall policy on oil production or effectively to set maximum prices. If the bottom falls out of the organization's pricing structure, some an-alysts reckon, OPEC's reason for being would be cast into doubt.

Spot Price Forecasts

Arnold Safer, president of the Energy Futures Group, is predicting that by mid-February the price of oil traded on the spot, or non-contract, market could undercut by 50 to 75 cents the \$34-a-barrel price for Arabian light crude that is used by OPEC as a base reference in the pricing of all grades produced by the 13-member or-

The market is going \$5 lower, said Harry Neustein, a crude oil trader. "They can't hold the price."

The weakness in oil prices was in evidence last week in price cuts by Libya and Algeria, ranging from 50 cents to \$1.20 a barrel, depending on grade. Their actions followed broad moves by OPEC at a meeting in Abu Dhabi in early December to trim another 20 cents to \$1 a barrel from the premiums it adds to the \$34 base price to reflect differences in quality and transportation costs. The premiums bring the maximum official OPEC contract price for best grades to \$37 a barrel.

A substantial drop in spot market prices, which are currently hovering around the \$34 base price, would create pressure for countries to lower their contract prices to gain sales from other producers.

As prices eroded over the course of 1981 due to the worldwide oversupply of oil, some members quiet-ly and secretly offered discounts below the officially quoted prices.

Alternative Energy

The danger to OPEC stems from the high prices it has helped to engineer over the past eight years. In response to higher prices, demand for energy has slipped an average of 2.3 percent a year since the 1973 oil embargo. As well 700,000 barrels of daily oil production are many companies are refraining being added each year and non-petroleum sources of energy — including hydropower, nuclear coal and natural gas — are increasing at a 4 percent annual rate. OPEC will, of course, fight to

prevent a collapse of its overall pricing structure as production continues to outpace the declining demand. The logical mechanism is to reduce production, something organization has never been

able to do on a coordinated basis. The most likely candidate is Saudi Arabia, whose oil minister, Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani, has promised that the country will de-fend the \$34 base price by limiting its massive oil production as much

as necessary.

The kingdom, which accounts for about half of total OPEC production, has reduced its output to 8.5 million barrels a day in recent months from the 10.5 million level it maintained for most of the year.

Minimum Output Levels

A recent State Department study calculated that Saudis Arabia could reduce daily production to 6 million barrels without cutting into oil revenues needed for its massive development program.

Moreover, Sheikh Yamani suggested in a speech at the beginning of this year that Saudi Arabia was prepared to cut its production to 3 million barrels a day, although some analysts suggest this might not generate sufficient develop-

ment revenues. A decline in worldwide oil inventories to only about 150 million barrels above normal levels from 600 million at the beginning of 1981 is also exerting some upward pressure on prices, according to an analysis by Data Resources.

"As far as I'm concerned, the glut is gone," said Constantine Fliakos, of Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, referring to the reduction in worldwide invento-

Nevertheless, several factors are responsible for pushing down prices. Worldwide economic activity continues to be slack, and many economists foresee recession continuing well into next year.

War Cuts Supplies

Current OPEC production of about 22 million barrels a day is about 4 million barrels below the capacity of the 13 countries, limited as it is by the Iran-Iraq war. And when production levels in Iran and Iraq return to normal, 5 million additional barrels of oil could enter world markets.

Moreover, the reduction in inventories might not strengthen prices as much as some analysts suggest. A combination of the increased costs of storing oil due to high interest rates and the ready availability of crude is convincing companies that they do not have to keep so much on hand. Before 1973, companies routinely got by with 25 to 30 days of inventories, rather than the 90 or more days that are now common.

According to Halsey Peckworth, editor of Platt's Oil Price Report, than in November, as has been customary. The reason is seen as an expectation that prices will decline further.

Gould: High-Tech Transformation Is Complete

30%

By Thomas McCarrol New York Times Service CHICAGO — William T. Yl-visaker of Gould Inc., a company best known as a battery maker, is

After having been repelled in two earlier attempts to buy his way into the semiconductor busine he arranged this mouth the takeover American Microsystems Inc., of Santa Clara, Calif., for stock valued at about \$200 million. The move rounds out Mr. Ylvisaker's long push to make Gould a fullfledged electronics company. In less than a decade, Mr. Yl-

visaker, chairman and chief executive of Gould, has taken over more than 50 companies, putting Gould into such businesses as automation systems, torpedo and sonar de-lense systems, medical diagnostic systems and more, all in 77 plants located in the United States and 24 in foreign countries.

Cashing In

In short, he has built a \$2.2-billion high-technology behemoth and lost none of his ambition. "In the next two decades the electronics industry will lead all other industries in growth," he said. "And we want to be there to cash in."

In the process, Mr. Ylvisaker, a patrician-looking, 57-year-old graduate of Yale University, has acquired a rather abrasive image, in dealings both with other companies and with his own managers. It is what he himself refers to as his "Darth Vader reputation." But, he insists, "My tough guy image is mostly myth, I'm an easy-going guy now, that stuff is a thing of the

The easy-going aspect was cer-tainly not in evidence in his two previous attempts to corral a maior semiconductor company.

Two years ago he sought to acquire Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corp. and then Mostek Corp. Both were unfriendly assaults, and both collapsed. Fairchild Mostek Fairchild Mostek Fairchild Mostek Fairchild Mostek Fairchild Mostek Fairchild Fairchi child, which Mr. Ylvisaker still admits he "was very interested in" and "fought hard for" sold out in-stead to Schlumberger Ltd. United Technologies Corp. won Mostek, which Mr. Ylvisaker now claims he

was not serious about." He pressed on because whotever

conductor technology is essential in a decade while profits marched to them all. "They help us reduce steadily ahead for nine years, until cost and advance the state of our 1980. In that year, earnings production," Mr. Ylvisaker said. But this time, the acquisition is described by both sides as a friendly one - and Mr. Ylvisaker the slump in housing construction professes himself well pleased with

Worker pours steel at a European plant. U.S. companies com-

plain about government aid given European steel makers.

GOULD

All amounts in millions except per share net

	1984	1979
Revenue	\$2,200	\$2.024
Profit	72	706
Per Share	2.10	3,78
Total Assets (of Dec. 31)	1,609	1,613
Divisions contribut	ing to 1780 re	EYEAUS

Electronic products

Electrical products

industrial products

his ultimate partner. "AMI is a better fit than either Fairchild or Mostek," he said. "AMI is smaller and has a broader base of technol-ogy which will be able to support our 32-bit minicomputer line our our 32-bit minicomputer line, our defense systems, our factory automation systems, and our test and ment and medical instru-

mentation work." Custom-Designed Circuits

Among semiconductor compa-nies, AMI is best known as a maker of custom-designed inte-grated circuits, a specially that sets grated circuits, a specialty that sets it apart from most of the industry, which concentrates on circuits for multiple applications. The company's sales last year of \$130 million put it in the industry's second tier.

The acquisition means the electronic component of Gould's tronics component of Gould's sales and earnings will swell even more. Just five six years ago, before Mr. Ylvisaker got firmly into his acquisition campaign, electronics sales totaled \$230 million and

By last year, those totals had tripled. All this is a major subthence in a Gould's emerging strengths in corporate strategy that has result-other sectors of electronics, semi-

pre-tax profits were \$33 million.

1980. In that year, earnings dropped 34 percent to \$72 million, as Gould's electrical products and industrial lines were hit hard by and utility markets, while its bat-tery business was badly beaten by competition in a slumping auto-market and the erratic price of

Part of that strategy involved dropping certain nonelectronic segments of Gould's businesses, and Mr. Ylvisaker plans to contin-ue selling off some of the company's duller operations. This would affect industrial operations, which produces custom-engineered bearings, precision engine and metal structural parts and other industrial components and accounted for 30 percent of Gould's pre-tax earnings and 26 percent of its net sales

A Little Introspection

There were rumors this year that Mr. Ylvisaker was also thinking about putting the traditional battery division on the block, but he ied this. "Instead, the material developed by the electronics division will benefit battery develop-

optimism for the lagging electrical operations. "The electrical products line will also benefit from technologies developed by the electronics area," he said.
With AMI now in the corporate

fold, many observers feel the time has come for management to try a little introspection.

Mr. Ylvisaker has come under

sometimes heavy criticism for keeping his top managers on too short a leash, leading to unusually high turnover. Among his defenders within the company, a staffer, who asked not to be identified, argued that "I don't think Bill deserves that tag. He just likes to be closely involved in the business and make his presence known."

But now, more important even than how Gould's separate divisions blend in together, "is how harmoniously Ylvisaker can work with the new management and employees," said a high-technology analyst who preferred to go uni-

dentified. "Workers at high tech companies like AMI are highly mobile — the turnover rate is about 50 per-cent a year — and they fiercely cherish their independence," the analyst explained.

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guaranteed for five years. This offer is limited and is not for citizens or corporations of the United States of America.

All enquiries will be handled in confidence. Reply to INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, Box 1671, Gr. Eschenheimer Str. 43, 6000 Frankfurt/M., W. Germany

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Notice is hereby given to the holders of the 9% Notes 1976 due 1981/82 of Pakhoed Holding N.V. that, as the result of a drawing effected on December 18, 1981 in the presence of Chr. J. Lubbers, notary public in Amsterdam, in accordance with the terms of the Trust Agreement dated February 10, 1976, Notes belonging to Redemption Groups Nos. 2, 3, and 5, which means notes of which the number is the same as the number of the Redemption groups so drawn or five or a mulitple of five higher, representing US\$ 15,000,000 principal

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London EC3P 3AH

Drawn payable per February 15, 1981 the redemption groups nos. 1 and 4.

Amsterdam, December 18, 1981

S&P Offers Investors Credit Alert

New York Times Scribe
NEW YORK — Corporations have always feared having the credit ratings on their corporate debt lowered. Now Standard & Poor's, the U.S. rating firm, has added a new device for calling attention to a company's potential credit prob-

The rating agency began publication last month of an "early warning" list of companies and governmental units whose bonds and short-term secunities are "under special surveillance," although the credit ratings for these debts have not been abanged.

changed.

The list, known as Creditwatch, is updated weekly and is designed to reflect the impact of such spot developments as takeover attempts and regulatory actions that affect a company's operations and therefore its creditworthiness.

Causion Grows

"It's a very significant move that might impact the cost of borrowing for some companies and even preclude their access to the credit markets," Donald E. Maude, chief economist for Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner & Smith, said of Creditwatch,

Creditwatch.

"It's always during these stages of the cycle, the recessionary period, that portfolio managers become extremely cautious about creditworthiness," Maude added. "They don't necessarily have to feel that a company is going to have difficulties, but the mere fact that it might impact the liquidity or the marketability of the issue would tend to make investors reluctant to make commitments" Standard & Poor's cautions that a Creditwatch listing does not necessarily mean a decline in the credit quality of a company's bonds as a drop in a credit rating would. Only about 50 percent of the ratings under special surveillance might eventually be changed, S&P says, adding that the number of changes has risen steadily in recent years.

By S&P's definitions, bonds rated AAA to A

are considered generally excellent investments, Bonds rated BB, B, CCC, and CC are regarded, on balance, as speculative with regard to the issuer's ability to pay interest and principal BB-rated issues are the least speculative and CC-rated issues the most.

The other major U.S. credit-rating company, Moody's Investors Service, has a rating system similar to S&P's for the thousands of short-term and long-term corporate and municipal bonds and securities issued each year. Moody's does not

Creditwatch reflects a growing public concern over the creditworthiness of companies and mu-nicipalities during a period of sharp swings in the nation's economy and in interest rates, and the declining fortunes of some major traditional industries such as automobiles and steel.

So far this year, Standard & Poor's has revised the credit ratings of 196 companies in the corpo-rate sector, with debt ratings of 83 upgraded and 113 downgraded. That is sharply higher than in 1980, when the debt ratings of 144 companies were changed, with 62 upgraded and 82 down-

Of the 45 issuers of debt on the most recent Creditwatch list scheduled for release Monday, the majority — 37 corporate and municipal issucrs — face possible downgradings of their credit ratings, S&P said. Included are Ford Motor and

the Ford Motor Credit Co.

The other issuers, S&P said, might have their credit ratings upgraded or their situation de-scribed as "developing," which means that S&P is seeking more information about the impact on debt of a merger or some other corporate event. Others on the Creditwatch list that face possi-

ble lower ratings include Savin Corp.; Standard Brands Inc.; Mobil Corp., and Montgomery Ward & Co., a Mobil unit; several insurance and financial companies; the city of Chicago, and the state of Washington. Byron Klapper, S&P's director of special fixed

income research, attributed the growing number of credit downgradings to the current volatility in the markets. "In the past, bonds used to be something that you bought, put away, and forgot until maturity," he said. "They kind of sat there and hardly functuated at all. These days, the ups and downs occur so frequently that fixed-income investors need information almost immediately to base their decisons on."

Earlier this month, for example, Baldwin-United Corp., a Cincinnati financial services concern, agreed to acquire MGIC Investment Corp., the nation's largest private insurer of home mort-gages, for \$52 a share, or \$1.2 billion.

Standard & Poor's subsequently added the two companies to its Creditwatch list, explaining that "increased demands on MGIC could arise as a result of being owned by a relatively small and highly leveraged parent.

A spokesman for MGIC said, "I don't think the corporation, over all, is concerned at all — it wasn't unanticipated that we would be put in a Creditwatch-type situation, because it is a procedural kind of a matter."

publish an early warning list similar to S&P's.

Trade Shifts Soften Impact of U.S. Slump

(Continued from Page 7)

Vries, chief international economist for Morgan Guaranty Trust Co. "This is particularly true for maor developing countries like Brazil, Mexico and South Korea, whose debt service burdens have been sharply aggravated by continuing high rates of inter-

As a rule of thumb, economists generally assume that a decline of one percentage point in the London interbank offered rate, the interest rate which governs many loans to developing countries, means a irop in interest payments of \$1 billion. Although rates have firmed recently in the wake of recent volatile movements in the U.S. money supply, the interbank rate has fallen more than 2 percentage points since the end of October, to 14 9/16 percent, some economists expect further declines in January.

"The improvement in interest rates in Europe should have a very positive effect," Mr. Bird said. "The duration of their decline in industrial production has been going on for almost three quarters. Falling interest rates should help reverse that trend."

The dollar's movements have also had an effect. Although the dollar has begun to decline against major currencies such as the Deutsche mark and the yen, on a trade-weighted basis it still remains 17.2 percent above year-ago levels, giving overseas export-ers a continued advantage in third-country markets.

Even if the dollar continues to decline, some exporters, notably the Germans and Japanese, will continue to enjoy a distinct price advantage in third mar-kets," Mrs. Junz said. "That should mute the impact of the American recession somewhat."

A falling dollar should also lead to lower oil bills for major importers, cutting into inflation and easing some pressure on the balance of payments, econo-

In spite of its limited effects, for the next few months foreign politicians are likely to place much of the blame for their own economic woes on the U.S. recession. Once upon a time, such criticism might have been valid. Now, however, when America catches a cold Europe, no longer develops pneumonia. Rather, as Mrs. Junz noted, "all they need is a dose of Vitamin C."

nent appears as a matter of record only

Mexico and Bankers: The War of Nerves Begins high imports, has produced for about 2.75 million. Mexico's prov-Mexico a record current account en oil and gas reserves stand at 72 By Alan Riding New York Times Service
MEXICO CTTY — The sharp
deterioration in Mexico's financial

situation this year has provoked conflicting responses of delight and nervousness among foreign bankers who have been helping to pay for this country's oil-based economic boom.

There is hope that Mexico will now be obliged to pay increased interest on its loans, becoming a more profitable market for foreign banks. But there is also fear that the Mexican peso may be heading for a major devaluation.

"People don't know whether to smile or to weep," said the repre-sentative of a large New York bank. "The government is upbeat, the local business community is downbeat and bankers are just holding their breath."

The first question marks were raised over Mexico's accounts when world oil prices began to sof-ten last June. But the alarm bells only sounded late in November, when Finance Minister David Ibarra Muñoz announced an unprecedented \$4.9-billion increase in Mexico's public foreign debt during 1981.

\$48.7-Billion Public Debt

These credits, half of which were unannounced short-term loans, raised the debt to \$48.7 billion and, combined with a further \$15 billion owed by the private sector placed Mexico on a par with Brazil among the world's most indebted

developing countries.

Mr. Ibarra Muñoz further estimated that Mexico's net foreign borrowing next year would be about \$11 billion.

"They're not going to raise that at spreads of only half a percent" over the London interbank offered rate, the New York banker said. Recently, in fact, a \$500-million Euroloan managed by Chemical Bank was signed in London by Mexico's State Development Bank at five-eights of a point over Libor,

the first clear sign that Mexico is willing to increase bank margins. "Every year we ask ourselves if there will be enough liquidity to meet Mexico's demands, and every year we seem to find enough," said the representative of another U.S. "This year, if they increase the price to, say, one percentage point over Libor, they'll be able to borrow all they need."

Disturbing Trends

But the government's relationship with foreign banks is only one facet of a financial picture that has darkened noticeably over the past year. Other disturbing trends include:

• The drop in world oil prices has aggravated Mexico's temporary loss of clients following its ef-. fort to maintain high prices in mid-1981. This has meant a loss of about \$6 billion in anticipated revennes this year.

A poor showing by nonoil exports, combined with continuing

payments deficit of \$10.8 billion

Several years of high inflation
 this year's rate is officially estimated at 29 percent — have weakened the pull of the tourist industry, and the overvalued peso has

couraged Mexicans to travel and • Fears of a major devaluation

duce Pernex's dependence on for-eign credits by raising domestic oil prices for the first time in five years. The doubling of the price of the most widely used gasoline—to "The government is upbeat, the local business community is downbeat and

bankers are just holding their breath.'

have led to the export of about \$4 billion since June, much of it going into U.S. real estate.

the equivalent of 87 cents a gallon — should bring in an additional \$3.5 billion to \$4 billion next year.

On the positive side, the economy has grown for the fourth successive year, at about 8 percent in 1981, while three million new jobs have been created since 1978, fueling demand for food and manufac-

tured products.
In recent months, the state oil monopoly Petroleos Mexicanos has also recovered the markets it lost last summer. Oil exports are approaching the target of 1.5 million barrels a day, while total pro-duction should soon level off at For next year, the final year of President José López Portillo's administration, the government has announced plans to hold real public spending at 1981 levels and

en oil and gas reserves stand at 72

billion barrels, and the country is

the world's fifth-largest producer. Oil revenues in 1982 should reach

\$18 billion. Last week, Mexico moved to re-

slow the economic growth rate to between 6.5 percent and 7 percent. We must concentrate on completing and tuning what we have begun; on avoiding risks which, through excessive audacity, could provoke undesirable problems in the future," Mr. Ibarra Muñoz told Congress on Nov. 25.

In the view of both foreign bankers and government economists, however, the government's greatest challenge is to "float" the overvalued peso downward fast enough to avoid the need for a sudden, confidence-shaking devaluation.

Fears of 1976

Yet it must do so without touching off a new flight of capital.

"If they really speed up the float, they might get away with it," a U.S. bank representative argued, "but they're taking a great risk. Seeping uncertainty could quickly turn into a panic, and they'd soon run out of money and be forced to devalue. But they at least think they can do it."

The dominating specter is a repetition of the large devaluation in August, 1976. In a matter of ks, the peso fell from 12.50 to the dollar to a record low of 29, later stabilizing at about 22 pesos after Mr. López Portillo took office in December, 1976.
But, over the following four

years, as inflation croded the real value of the peso, the government intervened in a "dirty float," leaving the peso technically free to fluctuate against the dollar but also taking steps to sustain the Mexican currency. Only this year has the central bank allowed the peso to slip gradually, by about 13

percent to 26 pesus to the dollar. In 1982, however, officials plan to allow the peso to lose 18 percent to 20 percent of its value through almost daily but, it is hoped, un-noticed, minidevaluations, ending the year with an exchange rate of 30 or 31 pesos to the dollar.

One side effect of this depreciation would be the need to maintain high domestic interest rates, at or above the combined rate of the devaluation and Libor. But the shortage of domestic credit might still force private companies embarked on expansion programs to borrow

"At the moment, I'm analyzing how my top private-sector clients would be affected by a major devaluation," a foreign banker said, "and, of 35 companies, I think about 6 would go under."

In the current mood of uncertainty, then, neither the public nor the private sectors can expect to find foreign bankers waiting for

them with open checkbooks, as they did 12 months ago.

"It's going to be an interesting wrestling match," said a foreign economic analyst. "The bankers are going to play hard to get, with an eye to making more money, but Mexico's Finance Ministry officials also know the banks have no choice but to lend to Mexico, and they're going to hold out for thin spreads."

tising rates were "very high, and there are just too any options in terms of corporate advertising to

make them a terrifically attractive

Mr. Ostrow voiced further res

vations over ARTS and CBS Cable

not charging a fee to local cable

alternative."

CBS, ABC Tune Their Antennae into Cable

New York Times Service NEW YORK -- Amid doubts and startup losses, ABC and CBS are embarking on the turbulent waters of cable television program-

ABC's and CBS's two fledgling cable-television programming ser-vices will cost the compnaies millions of dollars this year.
While acknowledging the uncer-

tainties involved, network executives say they have to act now or sing out on the future growth of the burgeoning cable television market, which already includes 28 percent of the 81.5 million U.S. households that have television sets.

ABC Inc., which began its ARTS cultural programming service in April, plans to initiate four additional cable television programming services in the coming months, almost a quarter of the to-tal number of new services planned for next year. More than 40 are already in operation.

CBS Inc., which began its own cultural service, CBS Cable, in Oc-tober, may possibly form another service, said Jack Willis, a CBS Cable vice president. In addition,

NBC, a subsidiary of RCA Corp., has yet to take a step into cable, although an NBC vice presi-dent, Curt Block, said senior management was thinking of doing so.

These positive attitudes toward cable television represent a switch by network executives, according to Michael D. Drexler, executive vice president for media and programming at Doyle Dane Bern-

bach. For quite some time they were trying to insist that cable was not going to be a big factor," he said.
"But as cable has continued to grow, they have come to realize that they have got to protect their flanks and that cable, in conjunc-tion with over-the-air broadcast-

ing, is the wave of the future."
For his part, Frederick S. Pierce, ABC executive vice president, said the company was moving into the new field on so many fronts because "at the pace cable was moving, it was clear that undue indecision could lock us out of the mark-

Thus far, the ABC and CBS services have gamered only a handful

CBS has applied for a franchise to run a local cable system in California.

of advertisers — and each has been absorbing start-up losses which they refuse to specify in public.

John S. Reidy, media analyst at Drexel Burnham Lambert Inc., estimated that ABC was incurring 1981 operating expenses of \$5 million to \$10 million in connection with its cable television enteprises - all of which are joint undertakines with other companies - and

other new-technology activities. Such outlays, he said, could amount to an additional \$15 million to \$20 million next year. That compares with ABC Inc.'s total earnings, after taxes, which he estimated at about \$150 million for 1981 and more than \$165 million

Mr. Reidy said that CBS Cable may cost CBS Inc. more than \$5 million in start-up costs and opera-ting losses in 1981. The company is expected to have after-tax earnings more than \$180 million for 1981, he said, and Drexel Burnham's projection for 1982 is for profits of more than \$215 million. At Young & Rubicam, Joseph Ostrow, executive vice president, noted that the advertising revenues of the two services were "not terri-

bly large," adding that their adver-

television system operators, who in turn provide the sewvice free to their subscribers. "They are posi-tioned to be totally dependent on advertising as their only revenue source," he said, "That's a problem — it puts all their eggs in one The Money Maker

And Mr. Reidy observed:
"There is still a lot of doubt as to how many advertising-supported cable services there will ever be. So we continue to think the greatest profit potentials lie in pay cable television systems," for which subscribers pay an extra fee.

Network executives said they were not concerned about the prospect that their cable operations would continue to lose money, or the prospect of the operations' competing with existing broadcast activities.

All these bonds having been sold, this announcement appears as a matter of record only.

New issue December 28, 1981



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Page 10 INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1981 International Bond Prices - Week of Dec. 24 Over-the-Counter Provided by White Weld Securities, London; a Division of Financiere Credit Suisse - First Boston (Continued from Page 8) Concess in 24.00 4.33 UNITED STATES AND American Express let Bank Of America 21,73 9.38 28 52 CONVERTIBLE BONDS 79.35 L14 200.21 11.79 7.58 **20- 525** 4.02- 9.37 \$331/2 *J*5- 3.55 19.17 5.71 171.02 4.81 17.90 5.53 224.34 194.19 E7.39 4.27 1023 5.14 5.75 179- 433 201- 235 2.85- 2.46 33.13 9.23 101.75 ASS 31.78 550 **\$35** S 13 34 30.0 522 \$ 191 S245/8 2439 439 1114 4E 5 20 213 1,14 25- 195 11.46 #.12 72.92 275 1292 82 1/4 1244 78 1/4 1029 87 1070 98 1/4 1054 94 11,40 89 2/4 9,45 93 1/2 11,64 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 | 1987 Convince of the control of the contr den 198 Megad Phramoco
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CNS Canadian Dollar

EUL European Currency Unit

EUL European Unit of Account
EUL - Powd Sterling
DM Dautsche Merk

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Fibak: A Polish Pro's Somber U.S.

By Neil Amdur

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The casp
soup and noodles were on the
table, in the Christmas Eve tradrition. But tears were in Wojtek Fibak's eyes as he began the prayer. Others at the table, his. wife, children and a few close friends, were also overcome by

"This is the saddest Christmas we've ever had," Fibak said Fri-day by phone from his home in Greenwich, Conn. "Last night, before the prayer, I spoke to my wife, Eva, and said, We shouldn't even have any celebration. It's supposed to be a time for joy and family unity.' Yet we felt an obligation to the children, so we put up a Christmas tree and told them Santa Claus

A few weeks ago, Fibak, a 29-year-old tennis professional and Poland's best-known athlete, spent 10 days in Poland visiting his parents, sister and other fam-ily members. His parents and inlaws, who live in Poznan, were to spend Christmas with Fibak at his second home in Green-

Fibak said he talked to his faribak said he takked to his fa-ther, a surgeon, and mother, a chemist, by phone two weeks ago. But since the Dec, 13 impo-sition of martial law in his homeland and resulting strikes and civil strife, he has heard nothing from his family. Attempts to reach them through friends in Europe have also proved fruitless. On Friday, Fi-bak, his wife and two daughters attended a Mass celebrated in Polish at the Holy Name of Jesus parish in Stamford, Conn; they sang Polish songs and they

prayed.
"We feel an obligation to pray for all the people who believe in



Wojtek Fibak

a free Poland and who have been oppressed by the introduction of martial law," Fibak said. "And we can only regret that there is no unity in the Polish nation. We have accomplished so much in 16 months there, and it is a shame that we're not able to

Like many Eastern European tennis pros who are allowed to keep prize money and travel extensively, Fibak has considered himself a bridge between East and West. But whereas many players have chosen second homes in Europe, Fibak has spent most of his time in the United States Inited States.

"We are citizens and residents of Poland," Fibak said. He has a Polish passport and plays the Davis Cup team series for Po-

land. "We have a beautiful home in Poland, with gardens and a swimming pool. The second home in Greenwich we use as a base for tournaments. In the last few years, with so much tennis in the United States, we have spent more time here than in Poland because it's convenient. But our family and friends are in Poland, and that is why it is so hard now."

Fibak and his wife have received warm support from the tennis community. On Christmas Eve, he received a call from Jimmy Connors, who is vacationing with his wife and son in Vail, Colo.

"Jimmy wished us well and said he was lighting the candle."

said he was lighting the candle for Poland and praying for Po-land," Fibak said. "He said, 'If there's anything I can do for you, just let me know.' It was moving that he cared and very had time to think about Po-

Ivan Lendl of Czechoslovakia, who has a condominium in Boca Raton, Fla., and is training there, phoned Fibak Thursday night. "Gene Mayer has called every two or three days and asks if anything can be done," Fibak

Fībak, who speaks six lan-guages and studied law at Mi-chiewicz University, said he has felt frustrated and angry at his position. On the one hand, he said he wanted to speak out "be-cause I feel I have to be honest." But with family in Poland and his delicate status, he acknowledged that the situation remains

"It would not be fair for my wife and me to advise Polish people what to do," he said. "They have all the problems there we are sitting in America. there, we are sitting in America.

They have the right to be

6 22 : WESTERN CONFERENCE

with their families. We are not in a position to tell them to go to the factories or to strike. A lot of people are going on TV in this country and telling the Polish people what to do. But it is the people of Poland who are the heroes. They are the ones who make the history."

The Lis response to the Pol-

The U.S. response to the Pol-

The U.S. response to the Polish crisis has overwhelmed the Fibaks. On Friday, friends from the New York area visited them for Christmas.

"I'm amazed at how this country has reacted," he said.
"There's so much interest. The sympathy of Americans to Poland is very touching. We are very proud and thankful to Americans. Being so far away and removed from everything, it and removed from everything, it would be easy to forget. But Po-land is in American hearts, and

we're very grateful."

Six of Poland's best junior tennis players and their coach were on the way to Miami for the Orange Bowl tournament when martial law was declared

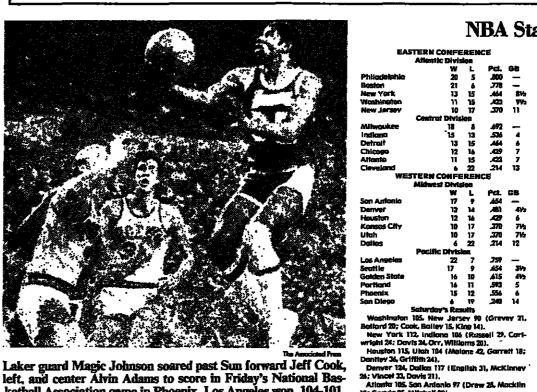
in their country.

"We have tried to telephone and sent letters but as of yet we have not received any messages from our families," said Wiltold Meres, the coach. "We have a

big worry about them."
All of the Polish players have been eliminated in the prestigious annual event, but Meres said they may remain in the United States until conditions

have stabilized at home.

"Even if I could bring my family over and get a good job as a tennis pro here, I would still return." Meres said. "I would miss are female and the femile. miss my friends and the famil-iarity of my country. I don't be-lieve anything would happen to us if we decided to stay here, but I hope the problems in my country can be worked out."



Laker guard Magic Johnson soared past Sun forward Jeff Cook, left, and center Alvin Adams to score in Friday's National Basn game in Phoenix. Los Ang

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Los Angeles 104, Phoenix 101 (Nibon 22, Wilkes 22; Adams, D. Johnson 19, Robinson 17).

Carner Honored by LPGA

The Associated Press NEW YORK - JoAnne Carner has been named the Ladies Professional Golf Association golfer of the year. Carner, who had four victories and four seconds on the 1981 LPGA Tour, edged Donna Caponi by two points.

> **More Sports** On Page 13

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City and Code

By Eugene T. Maleska

24 Subjoined 25 Sierra—— 26 Builder of Israel's first

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throw

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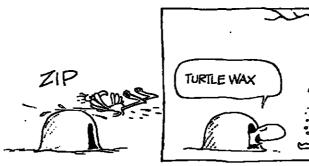










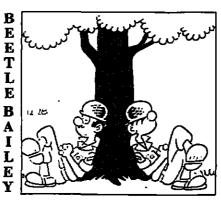






















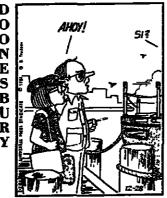








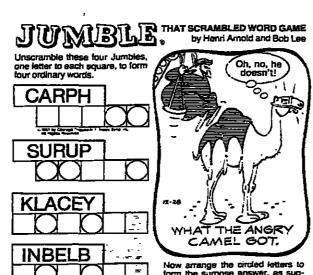












(Answers tomorrow) Jumbles: BUILT HOBBY CATCHY GAMBOL Answer: Often opened by mistake-A BIG MOUTH

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BOOKS

THE SOCCER TRIBE By Desmond Morris. 320 pp. \$29.95. Jonathan Cape/Merrimack Book Service, 99 Main Street, Salem, N.H. 03079. Reviewed by Gordon Bradley

MOST soccer books fall into two categories. The first type explains the tactics and strategies of the game and is usually written by a coach. The second is generally a biography of an outstanding player.

"The Soccer Tribe" by Desmond Morris is neither Morris, a British

zoologist best known for his books on animal behavior, describes every aspect of the game — its origins, its cos-tumes and customs, even its tribal chants and fan violence. Morris relates soccer, its heroes, the fans and their rituals, to tribal living, where ceremonies and superstitions also exist. The analogies he draws are not only valid, but make fascinating read-

Social Dans

Morris, whose experience with the game has mostly been in England and Europe (he is a director of the Oxford United team), writes of soccer as a social drug: Certainly the typical Euro-pean pre-match buildup, in which hordes of fans (tribal warriors) march through the streets to the stadium chanting praise for their team, or songs of abuse about the opponent (enemy), can act as a kind of drug.

One can understand the love and emotion that fans have for soccer. It is even said that industrial productivity increases in a city whose home team has been victorious and drops if a loss is suffered. Such love and passion is exemplified by a quote from a Scot-tish manager. "Some people think that soccer is a matter of life and



death. Well it isn't. It's more important than that."

In Europe and South America, the players or heroes of the games are working-class people, factory workers sons, for example. Today in North-America, our heroes complete an extended education, but the demands of professional soccer are such that early specialization" is a great advantage Morris describes the qualities of a good player as I would like to have written it myself. He is possessed of "spontaneous inventiveness that sets the game alight and wins matches."

Soccer Temples

His many comparisons between North American soccer and that of North American soccer and that of the rest of the world are extremely in-teresting. As a U.S. citizen who spent most of my playing days in England. I can understand the differences. In Eu-rope, the stadiums, appropriately de-scribed by Morris as Great Temples, are mainly built in industrial areas with little or no parking. Inferior fa-cilities abound and the majority of cilities abound, and the majority of the followers stand in all kinds of weather, as soccer is played throught the winter months. Only a portion of: the stadiums have seating. This is in contrast with our modern, stylish U.S. "temples," some of which are totally covered. Although I have experienced both game-watching styles. I experienced even more from Morris' writ-

gs. The book is illustrated with more than 500 color photographs, every one telling a story. I repeatedly looked them over and did eventually find the policeman on the white horse amid-half a million ranting and raving familians. at the opening game at Wembley Stadium in 1923.

This game that never sleeps hadcertainly come a long way from its be-States has taken to the sport, we can see thousands of youngsters playing.

This phenomenon called soccer is wonderfully described in "The Soccer

Gordon Bradley is a former coach ofthe Washington Diplomats soccer team. He wrote this review for The Washington Post's Book World.

CHESS.

By Robert Byrne

BILLIE Jean King once drew a distinction between players who were brilliant in fighting back when they were losing a match and true champions we to go abside and win the courage -- to go ahead and win when they were winning.

Her thought applies to chess as well as tennis, and it may well be pointed to such a competitor as Nana Aleksandriya of the Soviet Union, the unsuccessful challenger to her compatriot, Maya Chiburdanidze, the women's world champion.
As soon as Aleksandriya took the

lead in the fifth game, she dropped three and a half points out of the next four games. She then rallied to pull even before losing the 15th game — the game that ensured that her opponent would keep the title. When it no longer mattered, except as a point of honor, she won the 16th game to achieve a tie match.

In the sixth game, Aleksandriya re-

center.
On the other hand, Aleksandriya's 12 B-R6?! put her into difficulty after 12 . . . BxB; 13 RxB, PxP; 14 PxP,

12 . . BxB; 13 RxB, PxP; 14 PxP, Q-B1! because 15 RxQP would lose the exchange to 15 . . . N-Kl, while other rook moves make a defense of the frail White QP problematic.

After 16 . . NxN, it was perhaps possible to recover material with 17 RxQP, since 17 . . . Q-QB4; 18 R-R6, N-N5; 19 B-K3, QxP; 20 QxQ, NxQ; 21 RxRP, NxB; 22 RxR, RxR; 23 PxN produces an unpleasant but probably tenable ending.

However, Aleksandriya chose a more involved — and therefore much riskier — way of retaking her lost

riskier — way of retaking her lost pawn, culminating in 23 BxP.

To escape the threat, after 25 . . RxP. of 26 . . RxB fol-

lowed by a back-rank mate, she produced the ingenious 26 B-Q4!, RxR; 27 BxR, RxRch; 28 BxR.



Position after 30 ... P-B4

But she denied herself the fruits of her long uphill struggle by blundering with 31 K-B1?, allowing her knight to be won by 31 . . . B-Q7. Instead, 31 B-K5! would have permitted 31 . . . B-Q7 to be answered by 32 PB4 and the White knight could have been worked loose by 33 P-N4.

After 46 . . . N-R3, there was no gainsaying 47 K-K5, K-N5; 48 K-B6, KxP; 49 K-N5, K-B6; 50 KxN, KxP, so Aleksandriya gave up.

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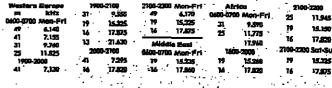
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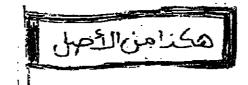
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RADIO CANADA INTERNATIONAL





Vext Biggie for Boxing

FW YORK — If Muhar 's retirement was boxing's big ent in 1981, there is an excellent ance that the big one of 1982. I feature Gerry Cooney and rry Holmes. Ali's departure was end of an era; the Holmesoney match takes boxing back the bumptious days when John Sullivan invented the "color e, and pronght on the age of the hite hope.

It is deplorable that such exmeous matters as the pigmenta-g of the principals become a accen in an athletic offering of omise, yet the people involved ep bringing it up. Holmes has id repeatedly, without prompt-g and with some venom, that 'if oney was black, he wouldn't sount to nothin." That isn't fair, of course. Coo-

RED SMITH

y's record of 25 consecutive vicdes with 22 knockouts does not cessarily spell greatness, because out of his early opponents had to dug up. But he can't be faulted his most recent shows - Jimmy jung, KO, 4; Ron Lyle, KO, 1; in Norton, KO, 54 seconds, ick in 1978, when Norton was imper and better than today, my at ringside thought he had in the climination bout that mucht Holmes his title.

For three and a half years now. nes has borne the responsibiliof holding and defending the ip, which is the real world chamhip because Holmes knocked a Mike Weaver, the World Box-g. Association champion, before eaver had a title. Larry has not plained about the responsibilithough from time to time he eaks of retirement.

Now Cooney is ready and willg to relieve him of the burden, e is willing that is; whether he is ady remains to be demonstrated larch 15.

The big event of 1982 is being inted as the biggest since just out anything. According to Coozy's co-manager, Dennis Rappaon, "just on our gurantees alone, om closed-circuit television exbitors and such, we are assured more gross dollars than the first learns-Leonard, and that was pe at about \$35 million." Rappaport said the parking lot 1. Caesars Palace in Las Vegas,

here Holmes and Ali drew the cord live gate of about \$6 milon, will have its seating capacity creased from 25,000 to 31,000, 3d at \$600 tops should set a cord of \$7 million or more. The ghters get \$10 million each. What gives this clambake such regnitude? Probably it is generly viewed as the classic confron-non of boxer and puncher, al-ough Holmes' 24 knockouts in victories would normally be

sidered a puncher's record

ree Andy Van Hellemond.

nd changes.

panel would be asked to "re-

w all discipline and penalty pro-

thires with specific reference to fenses against officials and to

This panel will consist of repre-

ntatives from ownership, NHL ficials association, NHL players

NHL Standings

WALES CONFERENCE

id Rappaport says the public has

punching Cooney is.
"I'm going to buy advertising space for my real estate business on the soles of Holmes' shoes," he says, straining wit to the sticking

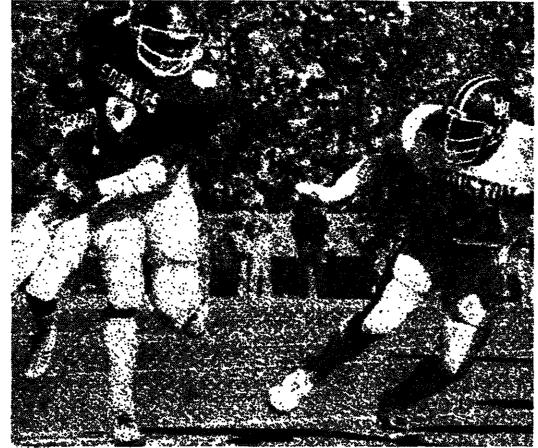
Nevertheless, Holmes is a competent boxer and Cooney a recognized puncher. They are undefeated, having won a total of 64 bouts in 64 starts. Cooney is 25 and Holmes 32, both young enough. And they are heavyweights.

Large and Sweet

"He was kind of a marshmallow," the late Don Skene wrote in his novel, "The Red Tiger," "but at least, he was a big marshmal-

Discussing Cooney, it is always necessary to point out that his punching power is really the only quality he has exhibited convincingly. Nobody knows how well he could take punishment or whether his stamina would be equal to a serious test over eight rounds or more. What tactics can he call to his aid, what reserves can he dip into, when he is in trouble?

We know about Holmes, who has taken on and beaten all the best of his time and sometimes has needed a desperate rally to bring it off. He is a good fighter, growing a little weary of the journey but unstionably fired up for this one, the last thing he has to prove.



Quarterback Darrell Shepard blew through Houston's defense on a 34-yard first-period TD run.

Bills Stall Jet Rally for 31-27 Wild-Card Victory

threw two scoring passes to Frank Lewis Sunday as the National Football League Buffalo Bills withstood a furious New York rally and beat the Jets, 31-27, in the American Conference wild-card

The Bills, who finished the regu-



Frank Lewis

Cincinnati

Ferguson's TD passes of 50 and 26 yards to Lewis, sandwiching a 29-yard field goal by Nick Mike-Mayer, helped Buffalo roll to a 24-0 lead midway in the second peri-

After the Jets cut the score to 24-13 on Richard Todd's 30-yard pass to Mickey Shuler and two Pat Leahy field goals, running back Joe Cribbs widened the Bills' lead to 31-13 with a 45-yard sprint down the right sideline 4:44 into the fourth period. That turned out to be the print to be the significant to sinclusive to significant to significant to significant to signific to be the winning touchdown.

The Jets stormed back, scoring touchdowns on Todd's 30-yard pass to Bobby Jones with 7:14 left to play and Kevin Long's 1-yard plunge 3:44 from the final gun. possession and took a punt on their own 20 with 2:36 left. Todd

passed 29 yards to Shuler, 13 yards to Jones and 26 yards to Derrick Gaffney as the Jets roared to the Buffalo 14-yard line with 14 seconds remaining.
But free safety Bill Simpson

stepped in front of Gaffney at the 2-yard line and intercepted a Todd pass to preserve the victory.
Todd completed 28 of 50 passes

From Agency Dispatches

lar season with a 10-6 record that

NEW YORK — Charles Romes

left them a helf-game behind the
returned a fumble on the game's
opening kickoff 26 yards for a
touchdown and Joe Ferguson
touchdown and Joe Ferguson
threse trop species passes to Essen strong Jet pass-rush.

Two interceptions by linebacker Greg Buttle set up Leahy's field goals, which were of 26 and 19 yards. But the Jets' turnovers were far more costly, starting with Bruce Harper's fumble that gave the Bills a 7-0 lead — a lead they never lost - just 16 seconds into

New York's Bruce Harper took the opening kickoff and was belted by Ervin Parker at the Jet 20. The popped loose and Romes picked it up on one bounce and raced down the sideline for the

The Jets blew a golden opportunity to tie the game when Wesley Walker dropped a 30-yard pass in the end zone - and Buffalo roared The Jets held Buffalo on its next back, covering 66 yards in three

plays for a 14-0 lead. Ferguson hit Jerry Butler for 14 yards and one play later threw to Lewis at the 20. The 11-year veteran cluded three defenders to complete a 50-yard touchdown play with 7:57 left in

Rufus Bess' 49-yard interception return to the Jet 12 set up Mick-Mayer's 29-yard field goal for a 17-0 lead with just over four minutes to go in the first period.

Phil Villapiano's 18-yard interception return to the Buffalo 41 set up the Bills' third TD. Ferguson hit Cribbs for 28 yards, to the Jet 25, and two plays later connected with Lewis on a post pattern from the 26 for a 24-0 lead.

The Jet offense finally came to life in the final three minutes of the first half. Todd's 30-yard TD pass to tight end Shuler provided the Jets with their first score with 2:47 to go in the half.

Transfer Shepard Leads Oklahoma To Sun Bowl Victory Over Houston 34, and halfback Allen Polk lost the ball to the Sooners' Steve Whaley at the Oklahoma 34 in the

EL PASO, Texas — Quarterback
Darrell Shepard, a Houston outcast three seasons ago, ran for 135
yards, scored two touchdowns and yards, scored two touchdowns and wided Obleback's marched his team 80 yards for the touchdown that broke the game. He set up the score on a 42-yard run to the Houston 9. guided Oklahoma's explosive rushing offense to break open what had been a tight game and carry the Sooners to a 40-14 victory over the Congars in the 47th Sun Bowl

Oklahoma stunned Houston with 30 points in the final quarter, with Shepard and freshman run-ning back Fred Sims doing most of the damage. Sims, who gained 181 yards on 15 carries, scored once and picked up all his yardage in the second half after replacing the injured running back Stanley Wil-

Shepard's recruitment by Houston in 1977 cost the Cougars a oneyear probation because of a car loan that had been arranged for him. Had he stayed at Houston he would not have been allowed to have play in any postseason

games.
With the help of Houston Coach transfered Bill Yeoman, Shepard transfered to Oklahoma in 1979.

'Something I Had to Do'

Shepard became starting Sooner quarterback in the middle of this season and Saturday, against his old school, enjoyed one of his finest days. Voted the game's most vaulable player, he scored on rims of one and 34 yards to spark Okla-homa's triumph in its first meeting ever with Houston.

"When I first heard we were playing Houston I didn't know what to say," said Shepard. "Obviously I hated to do it. But playing against my former teammates was just something I had to do. I hope they go on and win 10 Southwest Conference champion-

ships in a row." Shepard's second touchdown runt, in the opening moments of the fourth quarter, sealed the victory - only moments after it seemed Houston would take the

With Oklahoma ahead, Cougar quarterback Lionel Wilson hit Robert Durham on a swing pass. Durham raced 60 yards down the sidelines and was about to score when Sooner defensive back Elbert Watts overtook him and stripped him of the ball.

Defensive back Vernon Dean of San Diego State picked off The ball bounced into the end a Mike Kelley pass in the first zone and out of bounds for a half of the Blue-Gray game. touchback, giving Oklahoma the

Yeoman was hardly pleased with Durham's fumble. "If you can get about a 20-yard head start and can't score, then you're not as fast as everybody thought," said the coach. "He's going to have to get faster. He shouldn't have had the ball stripped from him. I am not a Robert Durham fan right

Houston was plagued by mis-cues throughout. In the second quarter, the Cougars were at the Oklahoma 22 when Wilson was thrown for a loss by Dwight Drane on a 4th-and-inches play. The quarterback also lost a fumble in

After Shepard had opened the scoring with a 34-yard run in the first period, Houston tied the game, 7-7, on a one-yard second-quarter plunge by Wilson. But the Cougars did not score again until the final three minutes of the game when Donald Jordan tallied from the third period at the Oklahoma Houston and Oklahoma both ended their seasons with 7-4-1 records. Oklahoma's overall bowl mark is 16-6-1, while Houston is 7-3-1.

North 21, South 9 From Agency Dispatches

final period to set up a 15-yard touchdown run by Sims.

Sims, who came on after Stanley Wilson suffered a rib injury, ran 48 yards to set up a 2-yard scoring run by Ron Mills with less than two minutes to play — and with 1:16 left, Oklahoma's John Truitt intercepted a pass and con it back

intercepted a pass and ran it back 28 yards for another score.

The Sconers also scored on field goals of 32 and 49 yards by Mi-

MONTGOMERY, Ala. -Diego State quarterback Matt Koller scored one touchdown and threw for another to lead the North to a 21-9 victory over the South in the 44th Blue-Gray Football game here Friday. Quarter-back Bryan Clark of Michigan State produced an insurance touchdown for the North late in the fourth quarter, hitting Joe Morris of Syracuse with an 8-yard

Kofler gave the Blue a 14-3 lead in the third quarter by sneaking over from the 1-yard line to cap a 70-yard drive that saw Kofler riddle the Gray secondary with six completions. The Gray's Eddie Garcia, of Southern Methodist, had kicked a 38-yard second-period field goal.

The game's first score had come midway through the second period as Kofler lobbed a pass from 4 yards out, hitting Curt Grieve of Yale in the corner of the end zone. With less than two minutes left in the game, the South's Charlie Wysocki, of Maryland, scored from a

South quarterbacks John Four-cade of Mississippi and Mike Kel-ley of Georgia Teach were inter-

1981: A Sporting Year With Its Share of Withouts

New York Times Service NEW YORK - In sports, 1981 too often

was the year without. It was without: · Seven weeks of the baseball season be-

The Super Bowl champion Oakland
Raiders qualifying for the playoffs.

The Wimbledon king invited to be a

member of the bost All Facility of the member of the host All-England Club.

Notre Dame having a winning football

• The New York Cosmos retaining the North American Soccer League title.

A Triple Crown sweep in horse racing.

Harold Smith was charged in a \$21.3-milhon bank embezziement. But the year was not without its moments.

After a generation of losing, both the New York Jets and the Giants emerged as wild-card teams in the Super Bowl playoffs. After the Yankees won their 33d American nando Valenzuela, took the World Series in

The New York Islanders again drank champagne from the Stanley Cup. The Bos-ton Celtics captured their 14th National Basketball Association title and Indiana its

turned into a bull and gored Thomas Hearns for the undisputed world welterweight title. Bear Bryant, with 315 victories as a college football coach, surpassed Amos Alonzo Stagg's record that had lasted

skiing's World Cup, initially awarded in 1967, an American claimed the overall championship: Phil Mahre of Yakima,

A Strike to Remember

So did the split season the clubowners created in order to grab extra TV revenue for the divisional playoffs involving the first- and second-half winners. As a result,

the strike.

The Dodgers, a half-game ahead of the Reds when the strike began but a 27-26 team thereafter, made the most of their opportunity. Down two games to one against Houston in the National League West playoff, the Dodgers won the next three. Down two games to one against Montreal in the league championship series, they won the next two. Down two games to none

Mets changed managers, dismissing Joe Torre and hiring George Bamberger. "We decided," said General Manager Frank Cashen, "to go in another direction." Up,

league history, the first in 13 years.

first season with Milwaukee, won both the American League's Most Valuable Player and Cy Young awards. Valenzuela, with a 13-7 record and eight shutouts in the shortened season, took the Cy Young award in the Philadelphia third baseman, was voted

And Pete Rose of the Phillies increased his league record for hits to 3,697 - only 494 away from Ty Cobb's major league

Jim Plunkett passed the Raiders to a 27-10 triumph over Philadelphia in Super Bowl XV, but was benched when Oakland went

A rookie, George Rogers of New Orleans, led the National Football League in rushing with 1,674 yards. Two surprise teams, Sar Francisco and Cincinnati, compiled the best records in their respective conferences while six teams that were in the playoffs a year

World Boxing Council's heavyweight chamnion in three title defenses — a 15-round decision over Trevor Berbick, a third-round knockout of Leon Spinks and an 11th-round knockout of Renaldo Snipes — after Snipes had floored him in the seventh. Holmes now awaits a potential \$50-million showdown March 15 with unbeaten but untested Gerry

by Thomas Hearns and his left eye was



nearly closed. "You're blowing it," his manager Angelo Dundee yelled at him in the corner. "Let's get him out of there." In the 14th round, Leonard did just that, pounding Hearns into the ropes and pummeling him until referee Davey Pearl waved his arms, grossed \$38 million and unified the welterweight title.

record

scoreless for three straight games early this

ago did not make it this time - Cleveland, Houston, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Minnesota

Larry Holmes continued unbeaten as the Cooney, who destroyed aging Ken Norton in only 54 seconds.



Muhammad Ali made another comeback, losing a manimous 10-round decision to Berbick in the Bahamas, a week after Joe Frazier, who had not been active since 1976, wobbled to a draw with Jumbo Cummings. Ali's reaction to his punchless performance was, "I know myself better than anybody. I know this is the end." Nearly 40 years old, he sounded as if he finally meant it.

John McEnroe refined his tennis talent but not his temperament. He finally won Wimbledon, ending Bjorn Borg's reign of five years and 41 matches. He won his third consecutive U.S. Open, conquering Borg in the final. And he won the Davis Cup for the United States virtually single-handedly against Argentina, taking both his singles matches and teaming with Peter Fleming in a doubles victory.

But he had to be scolded by Arthur Ashe, the Davis Cup captain, for his behavior.
And his tantrums at Wimbledon resulted in the All-England Chub's declining to follow its tradition of inviting a new champion to become a member.

Chris Evert Lloyd won her third Wimbledon singles title and 19-year-old Tracy Austin, after having rested an ailing back earlier in the year, took the U.S. Ope n for the second time.

Watson Green Again

Tom Kite, with \$375,699, succeeded Tom Watson as golf's leading money-winner on what is known now as the Tournament Players Association Tour. But Watson put on his second Masters green jacket.

David Graham was the first Australian to

take the U.S. Open, hitting every green in regulation for a three-under-par 67 at Mer-ion in a virtually flawless final round. Bill Rogers won the British Open after he had to be persuaded to play there. Larry Nelson won the Professional Golfers Association championship. On the women's tour, Beth

Daniel repeated as the leading money-winner with \$206,977.

"Excuse me," said Jack Nicklaus, after patiently explaining an opening-day 83 in the British Open, his highest round as a professional. "I've got an early tee time tomorrow." The next day he shot a 66.

The Islanders continued their Stanley Cup reign, eliminating Minnesota in six games in the final after a semifinal sweep of the New York Rangers in four games. In the Canada Cup tournament, the Soviet Union routed Team Canada in the title game, 8-1. The Rangers later hired Herb Brooks, the sculptor of the 1980 Olympic gold-medal

Mike Bossy, who had a National Hockey League record 85 goals including the playoffs, produced 50 goals in the Islanders' first 50 games last season, but Wayne Gretzky of the Edmonton Oilers is ahead of that pace in this season's realigned NHL. Larry Bird led the Boston Celtics to another NBA title in the playoff final against the Houston Rockets, who had stunned Los Angeles in a miniscries.

Magical Maneuver

The Lakers' sudden ouster had a carryover effect: Coach Paul Westhead decided to retool the Laker offense, but after Magic Johnson, who had signed a \$25-million, 25year contract, complained he "wasn't having any fum" in Westhead's new concept, the Laker owner, Jerry Buss, fired Westhead.

Isiah Thomas, now with the Detroit Pistons, guided Indiana to its national title, 63-50, over North Carolina only a few hours after the attempted assassination of Ronald Reagan. College basketball had two signifi-cant scandals — the conviction of a former Boston College player, Rick Kuhn, and four gamblers in a point-shaving conspiracy, and the probation of UCLA for recruiting viola-

was broken three times, twice by Sebastian Coe and once by Steve Ovett, his fellow Briton. Coe ran it in 3 minutes, 48.53 seconds Ang. 19; Ovett did a 3:48.40 Aug. 26; then Coe lowered it to 3:47.33 Aug. 28. Between them. Coe and Ovett have run six of the seven fastest miles in history. And of the 22 fastest miles, 18 were recorded this year.

\$3.5-Million Colt

John Henry, a six-year-old gelding some-times ridden by Bill Shoemaker, galloped to a career money-winning record of \$3,022,810 and horse of the year honors. Pleasant Colony, a scrawny colt trained by Johnny Campo, won the Kentucky Derby and the Preakness Stakes but was deprived of a Triple Crown when Summing took the Belmont Stakes. Chris McCarron has al-

ready surpassed Lafitte Pincay's jockey record of \$8,183,555 in purses. But the biggest money in thoroughbred racing was flashed at the Keeneland Sales in July, when 369 yearlings were auctioned for \$92 million, including a \$3.5-million bid by Robert Sangster of England for a Northern Dancer colt.

Clemson climbed to the top of the college football polls, prior to the upcoming bowl games, while Notre Dame, in its first year under Gerry Faust, had a 5-6 record, its first losing season since 1963. Marcus Allen, who rushed for more than 2,000 yards at Southern Cal, was voted the Heisman Trophy, and the Ivy League schools, along with about 40 other colleges, were demoted by the NCAA to Division I-AA.

But the most historic accomplishment in college football occurred when Alabama de-feated Auburn for the 315th victory of 68year-old Bear Bryant's career. "Whatever his eventual total is," said Penn State Coach Joe Paterno, "Bryant's record will stand forever.

It'll be like John Wooden winning 10 national basketball titles at UCLA in 12 years.

Nobody will ever match either of them."

In Laax, Switzerland, on a warmish March 28, Phil Mahre went into the final World Cup ski race of the season — a giant slalom — trailing Ingemar Stenmark of Sweden, a three-time overall champion, by three points. Stenmark already had gained the maximum number of points allowed for gi-ant slalom, and all Mabre had to do to become the first American champion was finish the final race in third place or better. He came in second, behind the neglected winner, Alexander Zhirov of the Soviet Union. As the throng of reporters gathered around Mahre for pictures and interviews, the U.S Alpine program director, Bill Marolt, extended a congratulatory hand through the mob and said: "It's been a long time coming."

Soccer people wondered if the Cosmos would rule the NASL indefinitely, until Chicago dethroned them, 2-1, in a Soccer Bowl shootout. The league itself was suffering; even teams folded after the season.

In anto racing, Nelson Piquet of Brazil commulated the most Grand Prix points and Darrell Waltrip won the stock-car title.

But the year's most bizzare plot developed at the Indianapolis 500. Bobby Unser apparently won but Mario Andretti protested that Unser had passed several cars under the yellow caution flag. Andretti was declared the winner by the U.S. Auto Club, prompting Unser to appeal.

Four months later Unser was ruled as the

winner, although he had to pay \$40,000 in fines for passing cars. Andretti then started litigation in hopes of reversing the ruling. So the Indy 500 is still without an undisputed

Typical of a year without.

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LL CONFERENCE

Seturday's Remills Y, latendars 4. Prilipdolphio 2 (Bourne (14), eld (15), Parason (1), Bourt (27); Fluckhorf

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**Hotomeson (4), Anderson (7); Sutter (17),

**tro (13), Terreboll (161).

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**Foster 2 (3), Willer (8), Gosse (4);

**Inski (17), Reinhort (5), Houston (8);

**shot 9, Herstord 6 (Marcatte 3 (4), K. Crowdin,

**D, Paderson (18), Antholo (19), Addit-len

**O'Relliv (7), Fergus (8); Stoughton (23),

**ari (8), Wegley (a), Francia (8), Middle-len

**O'Relliv (7), Fergus (8); Stoughton (23),

association, general managers, coaches and NHL staff."

MONTREAL - The National ockey League has agreed to in-The panel would review all discipline and penalty procedures, in-cluding the establishment of minicase the severity of penalties for ly player who strikes an official id has established a panel to remum penalties for abuse of offiew the league's rules and procecials and other infractions. The ares on physical abuse against of-NHL also agreed to hand out much more severe" penalties for abusing officials than have been given in the past, but did not speci-Last week's announcement by ague president John Ziegler and

atty, lawyer for the NHL fy how much more severe the fficials Association, came after penalties would be. to days of negotiations aimed at Ziegler said NHL rules that preiffening the league's rules on viovent officials from making an ap-peal of league decisions would also be reviewed. NHL officials threatened to

rike last week after Paul "We recorded our concern with olugren of the Philadelphia Flyregards to the Holmgren decision," s received a five-game suspensaid Beatty. "We recognize that of m and \$500 fine for punching regreater importance is the change of penalty procedures to provide minimum suspensions in the rules of the NHL for any physical abuse to the person of an official. In the joint statement, the NHL d the officials association said

"We also accept in good faith the notice to each club, each manager, coach and every player that much more severe penalties will be imposed in the interim period if an

official is physically abused." Ziegler said the Holmgren incident had, ironically, created a bet-ter rapport with the league's offi-cials. "Although we abhor the inci-dent of an official being struck, nevertheless it has produced a very meaningful dialogue regarding the

Transactions

BASKETSALL
National Societion Association
DENVER—Suspended David The guard for one partie.

NEW YORK—Activated Taby Knight, forward, Placed Heills Copeland, forward, an inlured reserve.

POOTBALL
POOTBALL
Noticeal Postboll League
N.Y. GIANTS—Activated Phil Status, quarterback, escape Cliff Conden, quarterback,
N.Y. JETS—Activated Sebby Jockson, Cornerbock, PHILADELPHIA—Activated Cloude Hum-phrey, linemen. Ploced Steve Folioto, Held and, on the intured reserve list. HOCKEY

DENVER (UPI) — The Deaver Hussels Pri-day supposed veteron puzzi David Thomosoo for four days for "excessive violaticas" of data

Scheer sold the suspension is effective Software. Themselves will miss some socialed the Mover-lets in Dalies Saturday nieth and socials the Boston Califes Tuesday in Denver, Scheer sold Thomselves with its slightle to return to sloy Wednesday when the Nutreets meet the Kings in

College Basketball Scores He. Carolina 22, Kentucky if MIDWHEN

> **More Sports** On Page 11

VHL to Stiffen Penalties for Abusing Officials league's traditional procedures of

discipline," said Ziegler. "The spirit of this meeting will be carried through to the committee, and thus I believe we will achieve a new disciplinary process for all unsatisfactory conduct and which will, among other things, answer the concerns of the NHLOA."

The Montreal meetings followed expressions of outrage by NHL officials last week over what Beatty. called the "grossly inadequate" punishment given Holmgren for punching Van Hellemond.

Maybe the Cons Only a few days later, Winnipeg forward Jimmy Mann was sus-pended for three games and fined \$500 for shoving linesman Gord

Beatty said last week he would recommend that referees appeal the Holmgren suspension and, if their demand that a 25-game suspension be imposed was not granted, either stop working NHL games or leave the breaking up of fights to local police.

31 Cars Entered

For '82 Formula 1 United Press Int PARIS - A total of 31 cars have entered next year's Formula One auto championship, which will consist of 16 grand prix races, the International Auto Sport Federa-

In all races except the Monaco Grand Prix, 26 cars, instead of the customary 24, will be permitted (20 will start at Monaco). Cars and drivers registered to date: Alfo Romeo; Bruno Glocomelii ond Andreo de

tion (FISA) has announced.

ATTOWS: Marc Surer and Mauro Balds. ATS: Ellips Sajazer and Mantred Winkelistress.
Exulgar: Roberto Guérrero.
Partori: Didiler Pironi and Gilles Villeness.
Phithodid: Calca Serro.
Lotus: Elito de Angella and Nipel Mangell.
McLaren: Nith Louda and John Wohsen.
March; Jochen Mass and Roui Besel.
Opelia: Jean-Pierre Jarier and Rigoretetti.

it: Alain Prost and Rone Arnous s vet unspecified. Tyrrell: Allchele Alboreto and Slim Bargudd, Williams: Corios Rautemann and Keler Ra

The Grand Prix Schedule
Jon. 23 — South African (Rysiemt),
Norch? — Arsentine (Buenes Aires),
Norch 21 — Brostlien (Rio de Jeneire)
Apr. 4— ILS. West (Lotte Beech),
Apr. 25 — Son Marrine (Innele, Herr),
Nory 9 — Betelon (Zolder),
Nory 20 — Moneco (Monte Carlo),
Jene 4— U.S. (Defroit),
Jene 4— Competion (Monte Carlo), June 4— U.S. (Dytrolf). July 18 — British (Brands Hotch). July 18 — British (Brands Hotch). July 25 — French (Le Casellet). Aug. 8 — West (Berman (Hockenbel Aug. 15 — Austrian (Zelfweg). Aug. 29—Swies (Dijen, France). Sept. 12—Italian (Monzo).

Sept. 12 — Hallan (Monza). Sept. 25 — U.S. (Los Vesas).

The Groud Prix Schedute

By Dave Anderson

cause of a players' strike.

 A winner decided in the Indianapolis 500 for four months.

• UCLA being eligible for the 1982 national college basketball tournament.

 Jack Nicklaus taking a major golf tour-A Madison Square Garden boxing card, which dissolved when the promoter

League pennant, the Los Angeles Dodgers, with the sensational rookie left-hander Fer-

fourth national college championship.
Sugar Ray Leonard, usually a matador,

And for the first time in the history of

In the decades to come, however, 1981 will be remembered for the baseball strike. It began June 12 and was settled July 31. The issue was free-agent compensation. In the settlement, the players retained freedom of movement except for a new form of compensation in some cases. But the impasse left many fans disenchanted.

the team with the best overall record. Cincinnati (66-42), did not make the playoffs because it was unable to finish first in the National League West either before or after

against the Yankees in the World Series, they won the next four.

After having suffered through their fifth consecutive losing season, the New York

presumably.
Nolan Ryan of Houston had a record fifth no-hitter and Len Barker of Cleveland pitched the 11th perfect game in major

the most valuable player.

Rose's Timetable

"To be realistic," the 40-year-old Rose said not long ago, "I think I should break Cobb's record some time in May, 1984."

scason.

Sugar Ray Leonard was being outpointed



Pete Rose ... Setting his sights on May, 1984.

By William Safire

NEW YORK — About 18 months ago, inveighing against the influence-peddling of a few of President Carter's friends and relatives, I searched for a noun that would encapsulate shoddiness, cheapness, trickiness and generally off-putting behavior. The

noun that presented itself was "sleaziness," but I had heard a variant of that word, a shorter and punchier back formation from "sleazy": the uncinous

'sleaze," oozing meretriciously from every pore. My chosen headline: "The Politics of Sleaze."

In Joe Scott's newsletter, "The Political Animal," the noun appears again, to exceriate one of Reagan's aides, derogating Richard Allen as "a veteran of close encounters with sleaze in the past. And in Newsweek recently, Meg Greenfield recommended the formation of a Sleaze and Embarrassment Bank: "You would be allowed so many improper interven-tions on behalf of a former client, so many envelopes, so many depredations by presidential relatives and so on. . . When they were gone that would be it -out!"

Safire

Since "sleaze" is rapidly becoming the preferred noun form of "sleazy," giving that adjective a new life in political descriptions, it behooves us to unearth the deriva-

Most dictionaries say "origin unknown," but in Webster's New World Dictionary, etymologist William Umbach makes an informed speculation: Silesia is an area of Eastern Europe now a part of Poland and Czechoslovakia. Its German name is Schlesien. A cloth was produced there called "Sleasie-holland" ("holland" is also a name for a linen or cotton cloth), used for linings of garments

because it was so fine. However, the delicate cloth tore easily; hence "sleasie" came to de-note cheap or ill-made. "Shoddy" - the word used most often as a synonym for sleazy — has a similar background: The term was popularized in the Civil War to de-scribe material of reprocessed wool sold to the Union Army by unscrupulous contractors.

Hail to thee, big new noun! You

can almost feel "sleaze" in the hand, like that green plastic putty that kids like to squeeze through their fingers. When thrown at a public figure, it is hard to get off, recalling the unprincipled advice of a politician: "Calumniate! Calumniate! Some of it will always

"THE SUBSTITUTION of the word 'regime' for 'regimen' is driving me crazy," fumes Heidi Jon Schmidt of Iowa City. "A televi-sion commercial shows a woman 'following her beauty regime' (per-haps 'Evita' has had some effect here?) and a radio broadcast a while ago went into great detail on the 'regime' the ex-hostages followed in Wiesbaden."

Calm down, Miss Schmidt. "Although regimen is the preferred term when the meaning is 'a systematic procedure or a system of therapy, " reports lexicographer Anne Soukhanov of Houghton Mifflin, "regime is nevertheless a legirimate synonym for regimen and has been so used at least since 1776." That was in a letter from Earl Carlisle: "Regime is better than physic," meaning, "Exercise

Stylistically, however, I align myself with the daughters of the regimen. People who use "regime" are usually being affected, trying to Frenchify their cosmetics copy; I would leave that word alone, using it only to derogate a govern-ment, as in "during Evita Peron's

WHENEVER President Reagan was asked how he felt about the approval of his AWACS sale, he would reply: "Cautiously optimistic." Since that time, the phrase has been taken up by every politician in Washington.

The phrase could use a rest. It says: "I'm hopeful, but in case it doesn't work out, I was careful not to be too hopeful."

Why is nobody ever "cautiously pessimistic"? Because pessimism, even when judiciously modified, is not upbeat and sunny, as statesmen are supposed to be.

Just for a change, let's try "carefully hopeful." Or go back to George Bush's "We have momen-tum." Or a nicely pompous "My confidence, though restrained, is

Is there hope for the demise of "cautiously optimistic"? You

The Ghosts of Travels Past

By Drew Middleton New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Not long ago I encountered a former colleague in the Frankfurt airport. Our aircraft was the statutory 30 minutes late so we had time to cuss the vagaries of contemporary travel and compare conditions with those of 25 or 30 years ago. Then we were informed that a minor repair was necessary in the equipment — nowadays we fly in "equipment," not airplanes, which may be what is wrong - and we repaired to the bar knowing the wait certainly would be

extended to an hour, perhaps more. My mend asked me to name one single improvement in travel over the last quarter of a century. After some thought I came up with an answer. He would recall that the sleeping compart-

ments of the Paris-London night ferry train were ornamented by a picture showing tra-velers how to don a life jacket in an emergen-cy. Until the late 1970s the photograph was of a sommolent porter with a moth-eaten mustache. On my last trip on that train, however, he had been replaced by a shapely blonde. That, I suggested, was improvement.

"Yes," my companion replied, "but they've discontinued the service. It's finished. kaput. If you want to get to Paris from London or vice versa in a harry — harry my foot — you struggle out to the airport, pack into a flying nickelodeon and are robbed by the taxi driver at either end. Do you remember the way it used to be?"

I did. The night ferry between the two capitals is one of the most enjoyable memories of a long and varied experience in travel. You left Paris at about 10 p.m. It was my custom to arrive at the station a bit early, the better to observe the clientele: harried fathers with clamorous broads of children. well-oiled businessmen, noisy students who, of course, had not engaged a compartment but would spend the night in the day coaches

swigging beaujolais and singing.

When the train pulled out, you went to your compartment, rang the bell and ordered a nightcap.

Disturbing Factor

The only disturbing factor was that after the train had rolled off the ferry at Dover it was ministered to by a team of failed Cockney humorists. I usually drew Bert and Alf, who interspersed their task of beating the wheels with mauls (calculated to soothe passengers who had experienced a bad crossing) with descriptions of what had happened the night before at their local pub. Shaved and dressed, you went to the res-



taurant car that had been linked to the train at Dover. The English, so goes the old canard, serve only one good meal, breakfast. The breakfast on that train was superb. The eggs and bacon were consumed. The manicured English countryside rolled past. The Times told you that nothing much had changed since about 1934. You were at Victoria Station, a short taxi ride from your hotel, at about 9 a.m.

Because I am a good sailor, my favorite mode of transatiantic travel in the old days, when there were ships aplenty on the North Atlantic run, was on one of the great imers.

The food ranged from good to excellent.

The passenger could ask for and get anything. Lana Turner once breakfasted on steak tartare and champagne. There was abundant opportunity for exercise, and the

company, once you spotted and thereafter avoided the ship's bore, was excellent.

The most pleasurable of my Atlantic trips came early in 1956 when I crossed to New York on the Queen Elizabeth. It was January and first class was about one-third full. In addition to Authory Eden and other notables, the passengers included Randolph Churchill, Sir Winston's only son. In his character, trascibility vied with good fellow-ship. Many disliked him, but over the years I found him entertaining and a fund of good

out. After breakfast, I set out for my daily 20 rounds of the deck. I observed two elderly women huddled in deck chairs. Their complexions were that of a badly done filet of sole and each time the Queen pitched or rolled, they groaned.

Breekfast Comment

Enter Randolph, rubicumd and as sleek as a Derby entry. "Just had an excellent break-fast," he announced in a voice easily andible in Belfast. "Deviled bones, a stack of pan-

cakes and half a bottle of champagne."

As he finished, I was hit amidships by the smaller of the two ladies, intent on reaching the rail. Randolph adroitly dodged the other, who was on a similar mission. "I wonder what brought that on?" he asked.

Children up to, say, 14 are a problem in travel. I have long wondered why scientists, stead of fooling around with nuclear weapons and spaceships, do not invent a pill-that will render insensible a child about to start a long journey. Given in the right amounts, the pills could knock the tot into a come for the length of the trip. Surely something could be added that would stiffen the infant's limbs so that he or she could be tied up and placed in the luggage rack until the journey was com-

Admittedly, air travel is faster, transatiantic or otherwise. But is speed all? In first class the food is no better than moderate. In what is laughingly called "economy" it is dreadful. The fellow who, when asked by his wife on arriving in New York from California what be had had for dinner, responded "something green, something brown," had it right.



Of many, many plane trips, two stick in my memory. I was flying from Mandalay to Calcutte on an elderly C-47. The passengers included mobs of children, some flustered old folks and a couple of drunken soldiers. The temperature inside the plane when we entered was roughly 105 degrees Fahrenheit. As soon as we took off, the children were sick, the old folks began to keen and the pilot, evidently flying by the seat of his pants, took us inches above every hill on the route.

Boiled Australia

The other journey was more interesting. In Tehran, I joined a flight from Australia to London. (This was before the ayatollah). About three-quarters of the passengers were mature Australians dressed alike in blazers and slacks and, with a few exceptions, boiled to the eyebrows. I asked for a beer. No, they were out of beer. A whiskey. No, that, too, had vanished. The steward said they hoped to replexish supplies in Vienna.

The Australians were all likable fellows and it soon developed that some had stashed away spare quarts of this and that in the event that they were marooned en route. So, incessant choruses of "Waltzing Matilda" could be endured.

I have had some enjoyable car trips in Euope and Asia, and some unenjoyable ones. Of the latter the least happy was in a jeep driving from northern Burms to Mandalay. It was night and the Burmese driver, a pleasant enough fellow, drove at moderate speed. Suddenly we but what I took to be a log in the road. The driver stopped, got out and an-nounced that the object was a large python,

dead as a gutted herring.

The driver proposed to curl the snake in the back seat and drive on to Mandalay, where, he said, the sale of the skin would put him on velvet for life. I demurred. After some palaver he agreed to coil the snake at the side of the road and cover it with rocks. He would pick it up on his return trip - but he informed me that the market for python

skins was better in Mandalay.

I agreed, and, my mind full of young wives tales of how these critters traveled in pairs, stood on the back seat overseeing the operation. We made it all right, but a stiff restorative was necessary when I reached

Mandalay.
All in all, travel has not improved. The young will never know the flavor and delight of a crossing on one of the Queens or the Paris-London night ferry train. If someone conjures up the old QE, as she was in her prime, I'll be aboard tomorrow. Those were Letter From Alaska

The Arctic-Night Blues

Jay Mathews

Washingso Per Service
DEAD HORSE, Alaska — A long-forgotten arctic explor-er, quoted here occasionally, once complained of "those song personing which one cannot get a tan, and thus one considers murdering his sisined of "those long periods mother.

Here on the shore of the Arctic Ocean, a few hundred Americans pump petroleum riches into the trans-Alaskan pipeline to be shot across the flat snowfields toward the sun. It will do no good: The sun is some, not to reappear for two months.

Even 750 miles south in Anchorace, the arctic winter "makes you pretty edgy," said Dana Fabe, an attorney who as state public de-fender must represent those who let their winter rages get the better of them. A statewide mood swing sets in, contributing to an upsurge in beatings and assaults, said Anchorage police Maj. Ron Otte.
Professor James Orvik, of the

University of Alaska's Center for Cross Cultural Studies in Fairbanks, said: "Alaska is a pretty violent place. People here have a certain tendency to get downright irritable. They have lots of time to contemplate themselves when they are feeling most vulnerable, and they are feeling vulnerable because the environment has them at bay. Americans are used to controlling their environment."

'It's the Dark'

"It's the dark, not the cold," Fabe said. "After all, it's colder in some parts of Wisconsin or Maine than it is here." Anchorage tries to encourage healthy outlets by pro-viding lighted cross-country ski

Far to the north, in this little community of prefabricated build-ings named after a vanished construction company, assistant hotel manager Bob Jenkins cures his winter depression by planning regular escapes. "Every winter I go somewhere nice, like Mexico or the Bahamas," he said. Oil workers and their support

staff here draw salaries three or four times the average and can af-ford such trips, but most Aleskans must stick around. Employment in the state is often seasonal. Work slacks off in the cold, dark winters and leaves Alaskans with even less to keep their minds occupied. Many find the only recreation left is drinking "All arctic cultures have high alcoholism rates," said Orvik.

Jenkins, whose 150-170m, single level Nama Camp motel is usual packed with workers, passes in a char about the winter as a friend approaches his table in the communal dining room. Could Jenking lend him two six-packs of bear "We always run very short here." Jenkins said.

Bottle Check

Jenkins, 35, used to work in the security detail when pipeline con struction drew thousands of workers here. For a while, supervision tried to restrict altohol consumption and asked ascurity men in check garbage in the morning for discarded cans and bottles. It was a joke." Jenkins said.
Today, oil companies that an-

ploy technicians and drilling teams here allow the inevitable winter deletting as long as everyone door his or her 12-hour daily shift Many work seven consecutive days, then catch up on sleep and recreation with seven days off in Anchorage

In the summer, the 24-hour sum-In the summer, the 24-hour sum-light seems intoxicating caough for many Arctic Circle veterant. "I can go and go and go," said Curt Griggs. 35, a material plan-ning supervisor for Solaio. "Is the summer, I only need three or four bours' sleep a night."

Joe Wills of the Homer News

the weekly paper in a little town on the Kenai Peninsula, wrote of his personal conquest of nycrophohis (fear of the night). He found people glorying in the dark, look-ing for the Northern Lights and counting the stars. "Yes, all the possibilities were told to me that night," Wills wrote, "the heavy bear-like sleep stage, the sneaking-out-of-the-office-at-3-p.m. maneuver, the mushroom-growing possibilities."

'Christmas Frenk'

"I'm a real Christmas freak," says schoolteacher Karen Wessel-Friedman, who lives in a cabin 10 miles from Homer, "so if I'm here and the fire is going, then I leed real good, full of the holiday spirit. The only time I notice the dark is between Christmas and the end of January. Then it starts getting light

Karen Cantillon, who works for, the state's Department of Environmental Conservation in Juneau, acknowledges the effects of what she calls "cabin fever" during the long winter, but there is one useful way to spend the time. "A lot of people get pregnant," she said.

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